# ICERO DE SENECTUTE

FRANK GARDNER MOORE

G W Johnston

## Morris and Morgan's Latin Series

*EDITED FOR USE IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES*

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

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# M. TVLLI CICERONIS

# CATO MAIOR DE SENECTVTE

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MOORE. CATO MAIOR.

W. P. I

Matri Carissimae

# PREFACE

The text of this edition is based upon the readings of the Mss. known to Halm and Müller, together with those of several which have been brought to notice since the appearance of the latter's edition in 1879. In view of the surprising quantity of the new critical material and its inaccessibility to many scholars, an Appendix has been added, with the readings of these Mss. in all their more important divergences, and often where the variants serve only to prove the descent of the Ms. in question. It is a matter of keen regret that I have been unable to add any collations of my own. All the more acknowledgment is therefore due to Dr. P. C. Molhuysen, of the Leyden University Library, for his kindness in furnishing those readings of L which are marked with an asterisk. Emendations have been admitted only where the text is obviously corrupt.

The Introduction gives Cato himself a prominence which may seem undeserved in an edition of an essay of Cicero. It was my aim, however, to make the character of the chief speaker as clear and, if possible, as impressive to the modern student as it was to the Roman readers of the *Cato Maior*, to whom he was no mere mouthpiece for Cicero's opinions, but a vigorous personality pervading the entire dialogue, — a presence from which there is no escape. The list of distinguished old men appended to the Intro-

duction was originally continued to the present time, but the later and larger portion has been suppressed in the interest of brevity.

It is hoped that the time-honored practice of inserting modern Latin verses needs no justification, even though their august author, long preëminent among *senes*, has just passed into history. The thanks which would have been here returned to Pope Leo himself for gracious permission to reprint his hexameters, must now be paid to Mgr. Rinaldo Angeli, his secretary, and to Reverend Father John P. Farrelly, of the American College in Rome, for ready help in securing the desired permission; also to the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, which has in the meantime acquired the copyright in this country.

What friendly obligations have been imposed by the great kindness of the general editors, as also of Professors Frank F. Abbott, of the University of Chicago, Hanns Oertel, of Yale, John K. Lord and R. W. Husband, of Dartmouth College, it would be difficult to say in brief, — except that by a critical reading of the proofs they have shown a practical interest in the book in its unfinished state, and have contributed most generously of their scholarship to its final form.

In accordance with the plan of the series, references have been given to most of the grammars now in general use, and these are distinguished by initials. To Madvig and Roby also an occasional reference will be found.

FRANK GARDNER MOORE.

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HE may truly think of the last years of life as the best, and of every year as better than the last, if he knows how to use it. — JOWETT.

THE several stages, and the last stage. — The travelling by the messenger, the procáccio in Italy. After a long journey, many events, many hardships, many escapes, at last welcome to Florence, Rome, Naples, or the place desired, the harbour, the end of the voyage.

So of life. The end, the upshot, harbour, and port. All was but to get well hither, all but to this end. — SHAFTESBURY.

# INTRODUCTION

*Nam vita humana prope uti ferrum est. Si exerceas, conteritur; si non exerceas, tamen robigo interficit.* — CATO, *ap.* Gell. 11, 2, 6.

## I. CICERO'S METHOD IN THE *CATO MAIOR*

1. For an essay custom prescribed the thin disguise of dialogue. One may therefore think of the essay on Old Age as but loosely connected with the name and personality of the great censor, and assume that Cicero used Cato merely as a mouthpiece for his own opinions, aware that his readers would not be deceived, or find fault with a necessary concession to literary fashion. From this standpoint, the student of the *Cato Maior* would need most of all to inform himself as to the philosophical teachings of Cicero, and the series of works in which they were set forth. But the philosophy in this dialogue is more transparent than usual. It is out of actual practice, far more than out of theory, that a defence of old age is constructed. And the practical experience of all who are cited as examples is merged in the one central personality of Cato.

2. *Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona, quae de illa aetate loqueretur, quam eius qui et diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset, . . . Genus autem hoc sermonum positum in hominum veterum auctoritate, et eorum inlustrium, plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis; itaque ipse mea legens sic adficior interdum, ut Catonem,*

*non me loqui existimem.* In these words of his *Laelius* (§ 4), Cicero gives us at the same time the special reasons for the choice of Cato as the chief speaker, the general method of adding weight to one's opinions by putting them in the mouth of some great man of a former age, and the effect produced even upon the writer himself.

3. To go back to Cato's time was deliberately to exclude from mention many prominent men who had borne age well in the long interval of more than a century between the assumed time of the dialogue, the year 150 B.C.,[1] and the date of writing.[2] For this limitation, however, ample compensation was found in the weight of Cato's personality, as the beau-ideal of an active, useful, and happy old age. Thus, by the most eminent example that could be cited, the practical Roman mind would be moved far more deeply than by the cleverest philosophical arguments. Not that Greek writers had failed to observe the advantages of a method which sugared latter-day preaching with the sweets of hero-worship. *Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem iusti imperi* is Cicero's own comment[3] on Xenophon's method in the *Cyropaedia.* In other words, the real Cyrus is lost in the writer's ideal of the just ruler. Plato's dialogues[4] had made the ideal Socrates a familiar figure to cultivated Roman readers. But an essential difference separates the Platonic method from that of Cicero. For in Plato the opinions of one philosopher are placed in the mouth of

[1] Cf. § 14, 8; *Laelius*, 11: *Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem, anno ante quam est mortuus, mecum et cum Scipione disserere. . . .* Cato died in 149; cf. Intr., § 33.

[2] Cf. the exclusion from *de Re Publica* of some of the greatest commotions in the state, *quod erant inferiores quam illorum aetas qui loquebantur* (*ad Q. Fr.* 3, 5 and 6, 2). For the time of writing, cf. Intr., § 45 ff.

[3] *Ad Q. Fr.* 1, 1, 23.

[4] For Plato's defence of the spoken word, cf. *Phaedrus*, 275 C–276 A.

another, the master, removed but a single generation from the writer. With Cicero, as with Xenophon in his *Cyrus*, philosophical opinions, in a popular form, are ascribed to a practical man, who knew a larger world than the schools, and had been honored in the memory of ages.

4. Thus in the *de Re Publica* the high and patriotic teachings of that dialogue not only receive from the younger Scipio the stamp of his authority,[1] but also in return make him seem to the reader more than ever worthy of veneration, as the ideal statesman in the ideal state. It was a truer judgment of the value of this method which made Cicero revert to his original plan for the *Republic*, and abandon the suggestion he had at first accepted from a friend, that the dialogue already sketched out for Scipio and his friends should be rewritten, brought down to date, and put in the mouth of the orator himself and his brother Quintus.[2] Nothing could have been so fatal to the book, and the noble epilogue, the *Dream of Scipio*, would never have been written.

5. If we assume that another friend of equal zeal, and no better taste, had advised Cicero to recast his first draft of the *Cato*, bring the dialogue down to his own time, and give the leading part to a living man, — the learned Varro,[3] for example, — it is worth observing what would have been the result in the various portions of the dialogue. (1) Under the first head (§ 15 ff.), the appeals Cato makes to his own example are such as could perhaps be made by another speaker. (2) Under the second head (§ 27 ff.), we should not so readily spare the more positive assertion of his vigor and activity, though the literary occupations

[1] *Ad Q. Fr.* 3, 5 and 6, 1: *hominumque dignitas aliquantum orationi ponderis adferebat.* Much more than *aliquantum!* But at the moment of writing to Quintus, Cicero doubts the wisdom of applying this method to that dialogue. [2] *Ib.* § 2. [3] Cf. Intr., § 59.

to which he alludes could have been matched by Varro. (3) In the third stage of the argument (§ 39 ff.), the whole subject of agriculture, upon which he enlarges at great length, would fall away, and with it the special pertinency of not a few of his illustrations. It is true that Varro was an expert in this direction, but his work on agriculture was not yet written, while Cato's book on the same subject was a classic. (4) In the more technical arguments with which the fourth objection to old age is met (§ 66 ff.), there is nothing so personal to Cato that an adequate substitute might not have been found, if the discourse had been put in the mouth of another. And yet here, as in the introductory sections, and throughout the dialogue, while the personal allusions or recollections may be no better for the purposes of the essay than similar personalities connected with another speaker, the total effect of them all could not possibly be produced apart from the heroic figure of Cato.[1] The choice was in fact inevitable, and the brief dialogue in which the old censor, the hater of all things Greek, is made to stand as sponsor for the wisdom born to Cicero out of Greek philosophy, is in no other direction so fruitful as in the comparison it suggests between the uncouth Roman of the older day, on the one hand, with all his native vigor, his unique combination of wisdom with prejudice, greatness with meanness, and, on the other, the highly cultivated, cosmopolitan, but less masculine, Roman of the last days of the Republic.

## II. The Real Cato

**6.** Among all the men of great ability and decided character who came to Rome from the hill-towns of

[1] Cf. J. Grimm, *Rede über das Alter*, *init.* (p. 91, Schneidewin).

Latium,[1] none is a better representative of that sturdy stock than Cato, — a type of the best that Latium in the old days could produce. As unyielding as the red rocks of Mount Alba itself, and even more forbidding, — limited in horizon, like his own lakes of Albano and Nemi, within their high crater-walls, — Cato was from first to last a man of the hills, full of unutterable contempt for all that could live and thrive only within city gates.[2]

7. After a rough and ready schooling, native force and mother-wit made him a speaker, long practice and intensity of feeling an orator. Yet at heart he was a farmer, and by second nature a soldier. Accustomed in public life as in war to give and take the hardest knocks, a keen sense of humor and a biting tongue made him feared and hated, but also armed him to meet every attack. Honest to the core in his hatred of everything which seemed in any way responsible for the great changes in life and manners in his own day, he was narrow to the last degree of insularity, and unable to see anything good in other ways of thinking. Violent prejudice and intense partisanship excluded from his mind all sober judgment and the weighing of evidence.

8. His animosity to the nobles was increased by the strangeness of a situation in which aristocracy had ceased to be conservative, and democracy to be liberal. It was this topsy-turvy condition of affairs which inspired the man

[1] Cf. Cicero's verses (*ad Att.* 2, 15, 3; Baehrens, *F. P. R.* p. 303): *In montes patrios et ad incunabula nostra | pergam.*

[2] Columella, 1 *praef.* 17, speaks of the old-time superiority of the country-bred: 'At mehercules vera illa Romuli proles, assiduis venatibus nec minus agrestibus operibus exercitata, firmissimis praevaluit corporibus, ac militiam belli, cum res postulavit, facile sustinuit, durata pacis laboribus, semperque rusticam plebem praeposuit urbanae. Vt enim qui in villis intra consepta morarentur, quam qui foris terram molirentur, ignaviores habitos, sic eos qui sub umbra civitatis intra moenia desides cunctarentur, quam qui rura colerent segniores visos.'

from the hills with the ardor of a new-found mission, — the defence of ancient custom, and determined opposition to all who were ready to sacrifice everything old and established in the interests of expansion. Even those who had most conspicuously served the state in the past found in Cato no respecter of persons, if their present conduct did not in every way meet his approval. Hence came unmitigated hostility to such a man as Africanus, and in general to all who took the broader view of Rome, as destined to become, and fast becoming, a power. The smallest effort to break away from the former conditions, in which Rome was strictly Italian, met with the most unsparing condemnation from Cato.

9. Fully alive to the evident mischief wrought in the manners and morals of the young by the intoxication of imperialism and the desire to be cosmopolitan, he saw a further menace in every departure, however slight, from time-honored custom, and treason in every effort to introduce Greek culture. Lacking absolutely in charity or tolerance, almost equally devoid of foresight in any large sense of the word, he threw himself with his whole soul into the task of a brakeman, produced an infinite amount of heat and friction, and for one whole generation and more he held back the wheels of progress.

10. Nevertheless, it would be a serious mistake to regard his career as purely negative, — a mere opposition to every tendency of the time. Extremes met in Cato, — the extremes of the narrowest political conservatism and the most far-reaching innovation in other lines. The defence of everything Roman against the overwhelming tide of Hellenism led him to original production in a dozen different directions. To prove that Greek teaching is unnecessary, he forced a purely Roman oratory to its birth, — the hardy, if unlovely, child of his most vigorous years. In

the same spirit, and with the same covert purpose, he labored and wrote on law and agriculture, history, medicine, and rhetoric, yet secretly drawing not a little of his wisdom from the Greek sources he pretended to despise.[1]

**11.** That he read Greek literature in his old age[2] was not a sign of final submission to the irresistible Greek culture, but rather of unabated ardor in the service of a cause so far from lost that its grizzled champion could still plan a wholesale 'spoiling of the Egyptians.' His first acquaintance with the language of Greece must have been made in earlier years;[3] whether in Sardinia in his quaestorship, under the tutelage of Ennius, as has been stated,[4] or at Rome, will remain uncertain.

**12.** In deed as in word the best exponent since Appius Claudius of the old patriarchal idea, Cato shows his one attractive side in his family life, as the devoted father and the good husband, — a higher title to fame, to quote himself, than to be a great senator.[5] Singularly gentle in his affection for his baby boy, he lavished time and attention upon the education of the son[6] whose marriage was to ally the plebeian leader with the great Aemilius Paulus,

[1] Intr., § 34 ff.; Plut., *Cato Maior*, 2 *fin.*, on his debt to Thucydides and Demosthenes.

[2] Cf. § 26; Quint. 12, 11, 23: *litteras Graecas aetate iam declinata didicit, ut esset hominibus documento, ea quoque percipi posse, quae senes concupissent;* cf. *Acad.* 2, 5: *cum Graecas litteras M. Catonem in senectute didicisse acceperim, . . .*

[3] In 191, Plutarch thinks he might have addressed the Athenians without an interpreter, had he chosen to depart from custom (Plut., *Cato*, 12). There is no reason to believe that Cato first learned Greek in his old age. However indifferent to literature in its highest forms, the mind of Cato was too active to rest content with any door closed. Cf. Ricci, *Catone nell' opposizione alla cultura greca e ai grecheggianti*, Palermo, 1895; Cortese, *De M. Porci Catonis vita*, etc., Savona, 1882, p. 26; Jäger, *Marcus Porcius Cato*, Gütersloh, 1892, p. 56.

[4] Aurel. Victor, 47. [5] Plut., *Cato*, 20. [6] *Ib.*

while his death was to be the sorest trial of a life which knew no such thing as peace.

**13.** Less attractive, but not less characteristic, traits are seen in Cato the landlord and farmer and slave-owner, treating everything from the strictly economical standpoint, selling all things not absolutely needed; hence heartlessly disposing of slaves who had grown old in his service.[1] Down to his seventieth year he lived in a rough and unplastered villa,[2] proud of nothing more than of his simple fare.[3] Stern simplicity,[4] mercilessness toward self, honor above reproach, a sleepless sense of duty to the state and his fellow-citizens, a tyrant conscience, — all these good qualities were conceded to him. But his virtue was too self-conscious to be content with its own reward. It courted admiration, and made of its proud possessor an inveterate preacher of righteousness in its most repellent form, reminding gods and men at every turn that other men are not like Cato. The keenest invective against others' shortcomings thus lost a large share of the usefulness it might have had, were the preacher less prone to sound his own praises.

**14.** At times it would seem that little was lacking to bring Cato down to the level of the common scold. But his very commonness, the fact that he was through and through a man of the people, devoid of the least suspicion of artistic taste, and lacking in nearly every one of the finer feelings, gave all the more force to his blows at the Scipios, with their foreign culture and unmanly refinement,

[1] *R. R.* 2, 7; Plut., *Cato*, 4.

[2] Gell. 13, 24, 1; cf. Plut., *Cato*, 4.

[3] On his voyage to Spain he had been content to use the wine and oil served to the men at the oars; Plin., *N. H.* 14, 91; Frontin., *Strat.* 4, 3, 1; Val. Max. 4, 3, 11; Festus, p. 169 M.

[4] Val. Max., *ib.*; Plut., *Cato*, 4; about to set out for Spain with three slaves, he consented to buy two more; Apul., *Apol.* 17. Cf. Intr., § 26.

as he chose to consider it, — their strange readiness to lay aside old traditions and precious prejudice, in order to gain for the rising power in the West social and political recognition from the civilized nations of the Hellenistic world.[1]

## III. The Ideal Cato

**15.** It was no part of the traditions of the Platonic dialogue, still less of the Aristotelian, with its nearly complete absence of the dramatic element, to present in the speakers a series of faithful portraits, from which all imaginative coloring had been rigidly excluded. Such realism was neither asked for nor given. The first readers of the *Cato Maior*, long accustomed to the almost unstinted hero-worship with which the censor's name was honored, were willing enough to believe, in the face of all evidence to the contrary, that age might have softened his harder traits.

[1] Livy's tribute to Cato is found in 39, 40, 4 ff.: 'In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingenique fuit, ut, quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur. Nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit; urbanas rusticasque res pariter callebat. Ad summos honores alios scientia iuris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris provexit; huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcumque ageret. In bello manu fortissimus multisque insignibus clarus pugnis, idem postquam ad magnos honores pervenit, summus imperator; idem in pace, si ius consuleres, peritissimus, si causa oranda esset, eloquentissimus; nec is tantum cuius lingua vivo eo viguerit, monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet; vivit immo vigetque eloquentia eius sacrata scriptis omnis generis. Orationes et pro se multae et pro aliis et in alios; nam non solum accusando sed etiam causam dicendo fatigavit inimicos. Simultates nimio plures et exercuerunt eum et ipse exercuit eas, nec facile dixeris, utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas an ille agitaverit nobilitatem. Asperi procul dubio animi et linguae acerbae et inmodice liberae fuit, sed invicti a cupiditatibus animi, rigidae innocentiae, contemptor gratiae, divitiarum. In parsimonia, in patientia laboris et periculi, ferrei prope corporis animique, quem ne senectus quidem, quae solvit omnia, fregerit,' etc.

To the essays on Cato already cited may be added Gerlach, *Marcus Porcius Cato der Censor*, a Basel programme, 1869 (40 pp.).

And they would have been certain to protest, if Cicero had contrived to undermine the pedestal, and bring him down to the level of common men. A real and undistorted likeness would have given offence at every turn, even if we could assume that the writer was capable of producing such a likeness.

**16.** But there is nothing anywhere in Cicero which indicates that he ever had a clear conception of the real Cato in all his roughness. If we had but this one dialogue, we might easily think of the ideal Cato as a distinct and conscious product of Cicero's imagination. But the many allusions to the censor in his other works show that, after all, the speaker on old age is only Cicero's everyday idea of Cato,[1] taking here a more definite shape. So far from a creative imagination setting itself the task of an ideal portrait, we have here to do rather with Cicero's real misapprehension of the man, — at least to a very large extent. To have grasped the true Cato only a century after his death, would have required a keener sense of historical perspective than Cicero usually shows.

**17.** That century had seen the most startling changes in every department of Roman activity and life. Men who had been born a generation after the destruction of Carthage, who had never known Rome as simply an Italian state, who grew up into an inheritance of power which seemed to have no ultimate limits, accustomed to wealth and a luxury far beyond that which Cato had condemned in the Scipios, living in great houses in the city, and constantly on the wing from one villa to another, breathing

[1] Cf. the estimate put into the mouth of Atticus in *Brutus*, § 293 f.: *Catonem nostrum . . . magnum mehercule hominem vel potius summum et singularem virum — nemo dicet secus,* — etc. *Ego enim Catonem tuum ut civem, ut senatorem, ut imperatorem, ut virum denique cum prudentia et diligentia tum omni virtute excellentem probo.* Cf. *de Re Pub.* 2, 1.

an atmosphere of imported books and foreign art, travelling to the centres of Greek refinement, or living in the memory of travel, — such men could no more reconstruct in imagination the Rome of Fabius and Marcellus, in all its vigorous simplicity and the narrowness of its strictly Italian horizon, than they could see without distortion the rugged character of a Cato. To them the dim Etruscan past would have seemed scarcely more remote. The broader their education, the more difficult was it for them to conceive of the narrow-mindedness, the painfully limited vision, of their own grandfathers. One may doubt whether any of Cicero's contemporaries of equal cultivation and similar tastes could have believed that the real and unpolished Cato had not only existed barely four generations before, but was in reality a most favorable specimen of the unschooled — and unspoiled — Roman.[1]

**18.** Cicero's admiration for the Roman republic, in a time when it was to him the ideal form of government, made him think of Cato as a statesman of breadth and foresight, united with all other good men — even his dearest enemies, the Scipios — in unselfish service of the state. Thus the ideal Cato (of this dialogue and elsewhere) feels toward the Scipios[2] as the real Cato never allowed himself to feel. There is no suspicion here of that intense animosity, the incessant barking, — to use Livy's word,[3] — which ended in forcing the greatest man of the day, the deliverer from Hannibal, into the sullen retirement in which he died.[4]

[1] Appreciation of the virtue that went with rustic simplicity was not lacking; cf. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 63, Büch.: *Avi et atavi nostri, cum alium ac caepe eorum verba olerent, tamen optume animati erant.*

[2] From the reference to Scipio the Elder in § 19, no one would suspect the bitter hostility of the real Cato (cf. §§ 61 and 82).

[3] Liv. 38, 54, 1 (Intr., § 28, n. 4); Quint. 8, 6, 9.

[4] Cf. Intr., §§ 24, 28.

**19.** Unable to think of a man of such keenness of intellect as otherwise than open-minded toward Greek philosophy and history, Cicero represents Cato as thoroughly at home in the historical literature of the Greeks,[1] and eminently sympathetic in his treatment of their philosophy;[2] and this in spite of certain hard facts, whereby Cato left on record his contempt of Greek philosophers, his orthodox dread of their teachings, and his violent antipathy to everything foreign.[3]

**20.** Equally unable to conceive of an original and productive writer who drew no inspiration from the poets, Cicero makes his ideal Cato quote incessantly from poetry. Yet the real Cato was a despiser of verse, and evidently regretted the good old days in which all men thought of poetry as an employment for idlers, little better than immoderate feasting.[4] It should be said, however, that this habit of profuse quotation from the poets is only one of many respects in which the style of the present dialogue shows itself to be the same as that employed by Cicero in other works of a similar character.

**21.** With the best efforts to find reminiscences of Cato's own manner in the language of Cicero, the commentators have failed to discover more than a very few instances in which one may even suspect a conscious archaism.[5] But we

[1] On Cato's knowledge of Greek, v. above, § 11.

[2] The appreciative references to Greek philosophers are mainly in §§ 23, 39 ff., 78. In § 23 is named even the Stoic Diogenes, whom the real Cato had treated with such brusqueness on the occasion of the celebrated embassy of the philosophers, Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus, to Rome in 155; cf. Intr., § 31; Plin., *N. H.* 7, 112. [3] Cf. Plin., *N. H.* 29, 14.

[4] Cato, *Carmen de Moribus*, *ap.* Gell. 11, 2, 5: *Poeticae artis honos non erat. Si quis in ea re studebat aut sese ad convivia adplicabat*, '*crassator*' [*grassator*] *vocabatur*; Jordan, p. 83. Cf. *T. D.* 1, 3, — Cato's censure of Fulvius Nobilior for taking a poet (Ennius) into his province.

[5] The supposed archaisms in the book are enumerated by Reid, p. 28 (who, however, disputes the assumption in each case): "(1) the use of deponent

are not to accept a few stray survivals from older usage as proof of a deliberate attempt to imitate the archaic style of Cato. Abundant materials existed for such an imitation, and Cicero was entirely competent, had he chosen, to amuse the learned, — a Varro, for example, — by a mere display of ingenuity in reviving an obsolete style. It would have been difficult, however, to forget himself, and make his Cato speak in short, oracular sentences, after the dry and juiceless manner of the *de Re Rustica*. Readers accustomed to the rounded periods of a highly finished style, would have turned away from an ill-considered and wholly useless attempt to imitate the crude beginnings of Latin prose. The writer had no choice but to employ his own style throughout, knowing that not even the most pedantic would find fault because this Cato speaks with the tongue of Cicero.[1]

## IV. The Career of Cato

**22.** Marcus Porcius Cato was born, according to the most reliable accounts, in 234 B.C.,[2] at the Latin town of

participles as passives in §§ 4, 74, 79, a thing common enough in Cicero; (2) the occurrence of *quasi* = *quem ad modum* in § 71; (3) of *audaciter* = *audacter* in § 72; (4) of *tuerentur* for *intuerentur* [as explained by some] in § 77; (5) of *neutiquam* in § 42; (6) of the nominative of the gerund governing an accusative case in § 6." Cf. Sommerbrodt on 71, Meissner, p. 3. In 38, 2, *mancipata* (for which most editors read *emancipata*) must be a reminiscence of the older legal terminology of Cato's time. Cf. also on 71, 9.

[1] The most striking example of the ideal Cato speaking in language which the real Cato could only have used in a disparaging sense is found in *eleganter*, 13, 6, in the phrase *pure atque eleganter actae aetatis*. For Cato himself, in his *Carmen de Moribus*, puts the word *elegans* on the same level with *sumptuosus*, *cupidus*, and *vitiosus*. This citation alone, without the comments of Gellius (11, 2, 3), would show that the word was a term of reproach.

[2] The date of his death is fixed with precision by Cicero, *Brutus*, 61 (eighty-six years before the consulship of Cicero); also by Vell. Paterc. 1, 13 (three years before the destruction of Carthage) and Plin., *N. H.* 29, 15 (*DCV anno*

Tusculum,[1] some two thousand feet above the sea, on the heights which overhang the Latin Way, a dozen miles from Rome. His youth, however, was spent in hard labor on the stony farm of his father in the Sabine mountains.[2] From a sturdy, but undistinguished family he received a goodly heritage of manly qualities and native force, beneath an unattractive exterior.[3] Born in the interval of peace with Carthage, he grew up amid the memories of the First Punic War, and gave himself heart and soul to the supreme efforts of the Second, entering the army at seventeen, in the dark days after the disaster at Lake Trasimene, in 217.[4] Of his service as a private Cato is made to speak in § 10 of this dialogue, while his biographer, Plutarch, lavishes the highest praises upon his virtues as a soldier.[5]

**23.** Promotion to the military tribuneship came only after years of the hardest service. Cornelius Nepos makes him already tribune (in Sicily) in 214,[6] but, according to

*urbis nostrae . . . LXXXV suo*). In *Cato Maior*, 14, Cato is represented as sixty-five in the year in which Ennius died (169), nineteen years before the date of the dialogue (cf. 32, 1); while in *Brutus*, 80, Cicero speaks of him as eighty-five at the time of his death. Both Livy (39, 40, 12) and Plutarch (*Cato*, 15 *fin.*) make Cato ninety years old. If he died in 149 B.C., this would give 239 as the year of his birth, and his first military service at the age of seventeen would fall in 222. But this is four years before Hannibal invaded Italy, whereas Plutarch (cap. 1) distinctly associates his service in the army with the early campaigns of the Second Punic War.

[1] Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 1; Plut., *Cato*, 1 *init.*; Vell. Paterc. 2, 128, 2.

[2] Festus, p. 281 M.; Nep., Plut., *ll. cc.*

[3] Plut. *l.c.*, on his red hair and gray-green eyes.

[4] Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 2, says his service began at seventeen, and the statement was taken from Cato's own words, according to Plut., *Cato*, 1 *fin.*

[5] Plut., *Cato*, 1. In the epic of Silius Italicus, 10, 14, Cato is present at the battle of Cannae — perhaps a piece of imagination simply; but Silius was a pedant, and not likely to run counter to known facts.

[6] Nep., *Cato*, 1, 2. If Cato shared the campaigns of Marcellus, Cicero's silence on this point is strange.

Polybius, at least five years of service were required before a man could be elected *tribunus militum*, while ten of the twenty-four tribunes must show ten years of service.[1] It is thus more likely that Cato, who had neither name nor influence, was obliged to serve in the ranks for ten years, bringing his tribuneship down to the year 207, the year ever memorable as that in which Hasdrubal was defeated by Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero at the Metaurus. Cato shared the hardships of Nero's forced marches from Apulia to Umbria, gained distinction in the battle,[2] and marched away with his men the same night, to reach the camp at Canusium in five days.

**24.** Three years later Cato became quaestor. By this time he had already gained reputation as a speaker, and was well known in the Roman law-courts. We are told that his entrance upon this career was due to L. Valerius Flaccus, a patrician, who had an estate near the Sabine farm of Cato. Good reports of his neighbor's industry and frugal living, as also of his activity in petty law-cases in the nearest towns, led Flaccus to make the acquaintance of Cato, and to persuade him that Rome offered a larger field for his abilities.[3] But we are not informed as to when this removal to Rome took place. It is scarcely possible to believe that Cato had showed such promise before he became a soldier at seventeen. Nor is it easy to imagine an interval in his military service, which would allow him the time to win distinction at the bar. But with the quaestorship, at thirty (204), he entered upon his public career, a name already honored and feared. Assigned to duty with Scipio in the war in Africa, he saw much to

[1] Polyb. 6, 19, 1.

[2] Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 2: *castra secutus est C. Claudi Neronis, magnique opera eius existimata est in proelio apud Senam, quo cecidit Hasdrubal, frater Hannibalis.*

[3] Plut., *Cato*, 3.

censure in the prodigal liberality and luxurious habits[1] of his commander, — returned, if Plutarch is right, from Sicily before the sailing of the expedition, to make open complaint in the senate.[2] Thus began their life-long quarrel.[3] There seems to be no doubt that Cato sailed to Africa with the fleet of Scipio,[4] and returning by way of Sardinia brought with him the poet Ennius.[5]

**25.** Two years after the close of the war Cato was elected plebeian aedile.[6] The praetorship fell to him in the following year, 198, with Sardinia as his province.[7] There his administration was marked by uncommon severity towards the money-lenders, and also by extreme simplicity in his own mode of life, in striking contrast to the state affected by previous governors,[8] so that the Roman rule never appeared to the provincials more terrible, nor at the same time more attractive.[9]

**26.** In 195 Cato and his friend Valerius Flaccus were consuls. To Cato fell the conduct of the war in Hither Spain,[10] the presence of a consul and a consular army in that province being thought necessary.[11] But before leaving the city with his modest retinue of five slaves,[12] he delivered a fiery speech against the proposed repeal of the *lex Oppia*, which in the darkest days of the Second Punic

[1] Cf. Liv. 29, 19, 11–12 (Scipio's Greek dress and habits, etc., without mention of Cato).
[2] Plut., *Cato*, 3.
[3] Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 3: *ab eo perpetua dissensit vita.*
[4] Liv. 29, 25, 10.
[5] Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 4.
[6] *Ib.*
[7] *Ib.*; Liv. 32, 7, 13.
[8] Liv. 32, 27, 3–4. A law regulating the demands a governor might make of the provincials was later carried by the efforts of Cato, — the *lex Porcia* (C. I. L. 1, 204, ii, l. 16).
[9] Plut., *Cato*, 6 *fin.*
[10] The permanent division into an *ulterior* and a *citerior provincia* seems to date from 197 (Liv. 32, 28, 11).
[11] Liv. 33, 43, 1–2; *ib.* § 5.
[12] Jordan, p. 38, a fragment of one of Cato's speeches. Cf. above, § 13, n. 4.

War had forbidden various forms of extravagance among women. The law was repealed, however, in the face of Cato's violent opposition.[1] Once in Spain, his task was practically the recovery of the entire province,[2] beginning with his first encounter with the rebels but a short distance south of the Pyrenees. In this battle he showed great courage and generalship, especially in attacking the enemy from the rear, after marching past in the night to a position in which his men might be thrown entirely upon their own resources.[3] For the same reason he had sent his ships back to Massilia.[4] He later ordered all the cities in the region of the Ebro to throw down their walls on the same day.[5] Immense sums in money and bullion were carried through the streets of Rome when Cato celebrated his triumph[6] (194). The memory of his triumph is preserved not only in the historians and other writers, but also in inscriptions.[7]

**27.** Not satisfied with these laurels, Cato offered his services for the war against Antiochus in 191, accepting without a murmur the commission of a simple tribune of the soldiers[8] under the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio. Here also he had the companionship of his old friend and recent colleague, L. Valerius Flaccus, in a similar capacity.[9]

[1] Liv. 34, 2–4; *ib.* 8, 3. [2] *Ib.* 13, 8. [3] *Ib.* 14–16. [4] Appian, *Hisp.* 40.

[5] *Ib.* 41; Plut., *Cato*, 10 (on authority of Polybius, 19); Frontinus, *Strat.* 1, 1, 1: *unaquaeque urbium sibi soli credidit imperatum; contumaces conspiratio potuit facere, si omnibus idem denuntiari notum fuisset.*

[6] Liv. 34, 46, 2; cf. Plut., *Cato*, 11; Nepos, *Cato*, 2, 1.

[7] None so old, however, as Cato's time; cf. C. I. L. 1², i., p. 48, a fragment of the Capitoline list of triumphs (= Schön, *das Capitolinische Verzeichnis*, u. s. w., p. 37). Cf. C. I. L. *ib.* p. 75.

[8] Liv. 36, 17, 1, calls him a *consularis legatus*, but this conflicts with *Cato Maior*, 32; Plut., *Cato*, 12; App., *Syr.* 18; Aur. Vict. 47; Frontin., *Strat.* 2, 4, 4. Cf. Jordan, p. lxxi. He had served also (194) under Sempronius Longus, his successor in the consulship; Plut., *Cato*, 12.

[9] Liv., App., *ll. cc.*

At Thermopylae, Cato led a detachment around the pass by the same path which had been used by the Persians, and enabled Glabrio to dislodge Antiochus.[1] To the complete rout of the king's army nothing had contributed so much as the brilliant feat of Cato. He was accordingly detached and sent to Rome to report the victory, which he did with all possible speed, covering the distance by land, between Hydruntum and Rome, in five days.[2]

**28.** For the censorship of the year 189 Cato and Valerius Flaccus announced themselves candidates, as did also their late commander Acilius Glabrio, who was, like Cato, a *novus homo*. In the heat of the canvass Glabrio was accused of misappropriating money and spoils from the camp of Antiochus. Cato appeared as a witness, to the confusion and retirement of Glabrio, who had the satisfaction, however, of seeing Cato defeated.[3] In spite of this disappointment, Cato must now be counted the acknowledged leader of the popular party in its opposition to the high-handed proceedings of some of the great families, especially that of the Scipios. Even the undisputed obligations of the state to Africanus did not prevent attacks upon him. Neither living nor dead could the greatest of the Scipios escape the sharp tongue of Cato.[4] His voluntary exile, during which he died at his villa near Liternum,[5] was perhaps in large measure due to the virulence of Cato; for the latter took a prominent part in bringing Scipio

[1] Plut., *Cato*, 13–14; Liv. 36, 18, 8; App., *Syr.* 19.

[2] Liv. 36, 21, 4 ff. Plut., *Cato*, 14, says from Brundisium, which is fifty miles nearer.

[3] Liv. 37, 57, 10 ff. A fragment of Cato's fourth speech against Glabrio is extant — a bit of self-laudation; Jordan, p. 45.

[4] Liv. 38, 54, 1: *Morte Africani crevere inimicorum animi, quorum princeps fuit M. Porcius Cato, qui vivo quoque eo adlatrare magnitudinem eius solitus erat.*

[5] *Id.* 38, 53, 8.

Asiaticus to trial.[1] The death of Africanus, though date and circumstances were disputed even before Livy's time,[2] appears to have occurred in 183, before the close of Cato's term as censor.

**29.** It is with this high office (184–183) that the name of Cato has always been most prominently associated. Once more he had as his colleague in office his friend L. Valerius Flaccus, having declared that only with the help of Valerius could he make the censorship effective in a thorough-going reform of manners and morals.[3] The fears thus aroused in certain quarters were fully realized. L. Quinctius Flamininus, an ex-consul and brother of the famous Flamininus, was ejected from the senate for the reasons given in § 42 of this dialogue.[4] The scathing oration of Cato, an indictment of Flamininus' vices, was extant in Livy's day.[5] Six other senators were also dropped from the list.[6] A higher valuation and increased taxation of articles of luxury were devised by Cato as a means of stemming the tide of extravagance.[7] He also antagonized the publicans and contractors in his efforts to secure the most favorable terms for the state. In all these ways the censor stirred animosities which followed him to the end of his life.[8]

**30.** Among the public works due to Cato and Valerius were improvements in the drainage of the city and in its public fountains, with the suppression of abuses in the encroachment upon streets or the misappropriation of water.

[1] *Ib.* 54, 11; Plut., *Cato*, 15. Lucius Scipio (Asiaticus) cannot have been condemned at the time of election for the censorship of 184, for he stood as a candidate (Liv. 39, 40, 2).

[2] Liv. 38, 56, 1 ff.; 39, 52, 1. In § 19, Cicero places the death of Scipio in 185.

[3] Liv. 39, 41, 4. The great Bacchanalian conspiracy of 186 had made a strict censorship more than ever desirable.

[4] Cf. *id.* 39, 42, 5 ff.

[5] *Ib.* § 7 ff.

[6] *Ib.* § 5.

[7] *Ib.* 44, § 2 f.

[8] *Ib.* § 9.

Valerius assumed the construction of certain harbor-works, and improved the route of the Appian Way at Formiae, while Cato built an exchange, the Basilica Porcia,[1] at one side of the Comitium, between the Curia and the Carcer. This was of historical importance as the first building of its kind in Rome — the precursor of the great basilicas. The next censors followed Cato's example with the Basilica Aemilia,[2] on the northeast side of the Forum, while ten years later Sempronius built his basilica[3] west of the Castor temple, on ground afterward occupied by one end of the great Basilica Iulia. A statue of Cato was placed by the grateful plebs in the temple of Salus on the Quirinal, with an inscription which passed over his other public services, only to dwell at greater length on his reforms as censor.[4]

**31.** With the censorship Cato's *cursus honorum* reached its end, but for thirty-five years more he continued to live a life of the greatest activity and influence, deprived, however, from the year 180, of the help of his faithful friend Valerius Flaccus, who died as pontifex in the pestilence of that year.[5] During this period we hear of him as the champion of provincials, *e.g.* the Spaniards in 171,[6] as again

[1] Liv. 39, 44, 7; Plut., *Cato*, 19. The speech of Cato entitled *Vti basilica aedificetur* no doubt justified the innovation. One fragment is preserved by Priscian, 8, p. 433, Keil; Jordan, p. 51.

[2] Liv. 40, 51, 5. [3] *Id.* 44, 16, 10.

[4] Plut., *Cato*, 19. Cato had previously ridiculed statues, preferring, so he claimed, to live in the memory of men, and to have men ask why he had no statue, rather than why he had one (Plut., *ib.*; Ammian. 14, 6, 8). Another statue of Cato, apparently of later date, stood in the senate-house, while the memory of Africanus was honored by a statue in the central cella of the Capitoline temple (Val. Max. 8, 15, 1–2). The feeling that the censor and the hero of Zama deserved equal honors is reflected in Seneca, *Ep.* 87, 9: *M. Cato Censorius, quem tam e re publica fuit nasci quam Scipionem, alter enim cum hostibus nostris bellum, alter cum moribus gessit,* . . .

[5] Liv. 40, 42, 6. [6] *Id.* 43, 2, 5.

he comes to the rescue of the Rhodians four years later.[1] In 155, when Athens sent to Rome the celebrated embassy of philosophers, Carneades, Critolaus, and Diogenes (the Stoic of that name), Cato, alarmed at their favorable reception by the nobles, and the impression their clever debates made upon the younger generation, urged that they should be sent away immediately.[2]

**32.** As the final conflict with Carthage approached, Cato showed himself the uncompromising advocate of war. Sent over to Africa,[3] he saw in the great prosperity of Carthage a constant menace to Rome. Nothing but the destruction of the rival city would satisfy him. At every step in the direction of war he was opposed by the temperate counsels of Scipio Nasica.[4] About this time Cato's son died in his praetorship.[5] The simplicity of the funeral was suited to the tastes and poverty — the well-paraded poverty — of Cato.

**33.** The last important case in which Cato took a prominent part, — this within a few months, perhaps not many

[1] *Id.* 45, 25, 2–3; Intr., § 35.

[2] Plut., *Cato*, 22; Plin., *N. H.* 7, 112: *quam primum legatos eos censuit dimittendos, quoniam illo viro* (sc. Carneade) *argumentante quid veri esset haud facile discerni posset.* On the embassy, cf. *de Orat.* 2, 155 ff.; *Acad.* 2, 137; *ad Att.* 12, 23, 2; *T. D.* 4, 5; Gell. 6, 14, 9; 17, 21, 48; Macrob., *Sat.* 1, 5, 15; Lact. 5, 15; cf. above, § 19, n. 2.

[3] Plut., *Cato*, 27; App., *Pun.* 69; perhaps Liv., *per.* 47 *fin.* The date of this embassy is usually given as 157 (Liv. *ib.*, *med.*), but without sufficient authority. A later date (153) is far more probable. Jäger, *Marcus Porcius Cato*, Gütersloh, 1892, pp. 44, 69, thinks the whole story suspicious.

[4] Liv., *per.* 48–49; St. Augustine, *C. D.* 1, 30; App., *l. c.;* Florus, 1, 31, 4: *Cato inexpiabili odio delendam esse Carthaginem, et cum de alio consuleretur, pronuntiabat, Scipio Nasica servandam, ne metu ablato aemulae urbis luxuriari felicitas inciperet;* cf. Plut., *Cato*, 27; Plin., *N. H.*, 15, 74; Aur. Vict. 47; below, § 18; but the formula *Ceterum censeo Carthaginem*, etc., is without authority. On one occasion, in his defence of the Rhodians, Cato quoted the opinion of the Elder Africanus, that Carthage should be permitted to remain, lest the Romans grow insolent and careless in their prosperity. Cf. App., *Pun.* 65.

[5] Liv., *per.* 48.

days, before his death (149),[1] — was that of Ser. Sulpicius Galba, charged with breaking his promises to certain Lusitanians who had surrendered, only to be killed, or sold into slavery.[2] It was even more of a tribute to the vigor of his aged opponent than a confession of guilt, when Galba, whom Cicero rates as the leading orator of the day,[3] threw himself upon the mercy of the people.[4] Thus Cato's public activity continued to the very end. So often the accuser of others, he was himself accused nearly fifty times.[5] Only four years before his death he had been put upon trial for the last time.[6] On this occasion he had complained of the difficulty of defending himself before another generation.[7] Nestor-like, as Plutarch observes, he may be said to have lived through three generations, from that in which the most conspicuous figure was his *bête noire*, the great Scipio, to that of Scipio Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage. Had three years been added to his life, he would have seen the final ruin of the power which had filled his youth with dread, his maturer years with a hate which no age could soften. In the length of one long life, Rome had ceased to be an Italian state, and had become the arbiter, where not the actual ruler, of the Mediterranean world, with an inevitable career of unlimited expansion and conquest.

## V. Cato's Works

**34.** As the personality of Cato left an enduring impress upon posterity, so also — in Roman times at least — the works which came from his busy pen during all the latter

[1] *Brutus*, 89; Plut., *Cato*, 15.

[2] Liv., *per.* 49; App. *Hisp.* 60.

[3] *Brutus*, 82, 333.

[4] *Ib.* 90; *de Orat.* 1, 227–228; Liv., *l. c.*

[5] Plut., *Cato*, 15; forty-four times (but invariably acquitted), according to Plin., *N. H.* 7, 100; cf. Val. Max. 3, 7, 7; Aur. Vict. 47; Solinus, 1, 113.

[6] Plut., *l.c.*

[7] Plut., *l.c.*, and *An seni*, etc., 2.

portion of his life.[1] And among these, none brought him such fame as the historical work which claimed his time for more than twenty years. Having no predecessors in this field, except the few half-Romans who had written in bad Greek, Cato set himself the task of creating a prose style capable of adapting itself to the varied requirements of history on a large scale. He aims to rescue his mother tongue from the reproach of having no prose, while poetry is scornfully left to the Greeks and their admirers. Albinus, one of the most tactless supporters of Greek culture, had dedicated to the poet Ennius a history of Rome in Greek.[2] Against all such contempt of the mother-tongue, against all the representatives of the Greek movement indiscriminately, Cato stands forth in his *Origines* as the champion of national sentiment expressed in the forceful, if inflexible, speech of the fathers. To his mind no patriot could possibly range himself with the opposite faction.[3]

35. His purpose was to write the history of Rome. But other cities of Italy received so large a share of his attention that of the first three books, — probably published by themselves, — the founding of Rome and the traditional story of the kings filled but one book, while the second and third gave the origin of the other Italian cities. Hence the title *Origines*, which remained unchanged as later books were from time to time added. The fourth book

[1] Cf. *de Orat.* 3, 135: *denique nihil in hac civitate temporibus illis sciri discive potuit, quod ille non cum investigarit et scierit tum etiam conscripserit.*

[2] Cf. the fragment of an unknown writer discovered by Cortese, and published in *Rivista di Filologia Classica*, etc., 12, 1884, p. 396 (reprinted, Teuffel, § 127, 1). Cortese attributes the fragment to Cornelius Nepos, but this is doubtful. Nowhere else do we find the party strife so distinctly mentioned; cf. Ricci, *Catone nell' opposizione alla cultura greca*, etc., pp. 6–8; 27–28 (but Ricci's text is a careless copy).

[3] Cf. the same fragment: *altera patriam* (*patriae*, Ricci) *caritatem praetexebat.*

narrated the events of the First Punic War, preceded by an outline of republican history to the beginning of the struggle with Carthage, — unless we assume[1] that this portion of the history was interwoven with the *Origines* proper of Books II and III. For some reason Cato included the first three years of the Second Punic War, with the battle of Cannae, in the fourth book.[2] The fifth book completed the Second Punic War, with subsequent events as far as the final conquest of Macedonia. It also contained at least one of Cato's own orations, inserted at its proper place in the narrative.[3] The last two books, the sixth and seventh, continued the story with greater detail, and a more liberal sprinkling, in all probability, of Cato's speeches,[4] to the year of his death, 149. From the First Punic War on, we are told that he omitted the names of the commanders.[5] He found space, however, to mention places and objects of interest in Italy and Spain.

**36**. In general, the method of the historian Cato was something all his own. Avoiding the petty details of the

[1] With Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, p. 625; Mommsen, *Hist.* 3, p. 188, Am. ed., 1900.

[2] For the contents of the books we are indebted chiefly to Nepos, *Cato*, 3, 3 ff.; but quotations in later writers add not a little information. Thus the story of Hannibal and Maharbal after the victory of Cannae was told by Cato *in quarto Originum*, according to Gell. 2, 19, 9; cf. Cortese, p. 110.

[3] The speech for the Rhodians, 167 B.C.; Gell. 6, 3, 7; Jordan, pp. 21 ff., Liv. 45, 25, 3.

[4] Jordan, p. lviii, seems to think that only two orations were included in the *Origines;* Cortese, pp. 57–58, and Teuffel, § 120, 2, that there were others.

[5] Nepos, *Cato*, 3, 4; Plin., *N. H.* 8, 11; Ricci, p. 28, extends this omission of names to the entire work. Cf. Gell. 3, 7, where an abstract and a quotation from Cato show such titles as *imperator Poenus*, *consul*, *tribunus*, instead of names, — in narrating an incident in the First Punic War (Jordan, p. 18 ff.; cf. p. 17, fr. 4; p. 21, fr. 12). A list of consuls, proconsuls, etc., at the beginning of each year, might have enabled the painstaking reader to make the necessary substitutions (cf. Nipperdey on Nepos, *l.c.*); but Cato had aban-

pontifical annals,[1] he freed himself from the limitations of official years and magisterial terms, to trace in broad lines a patriotic story, in which every individuality, except perhaps his own, was lost in the daring and doing of a state, not impersonal, nor yet personified, but immeasurably greater than its greatest citizens.

The first Roman history in Latin, the first important work of any kind in Latin prose,—this was what the aged Cato produced in his *Origines*. Though in style and treatment we may well imagine that the work left much to be desired, still its loss is deeply to be regretted, from more than one standpoint. We are forced to judge of it by the numerous citations and allusions in later writers.[2]

**37.** Orations, in their published form, were for Cato less a department of literature in themselves than a supplement to his history. Many of his speeches not incorporated in the *Origines* were published separately. More than 150 were known to Cicero;[3] brief fragments of eighty remain.[4] They continued to be read to a certain extent down to the

doned the annalistic form, and having done so, where could he have inserted such lists? Cf. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.*, p. 624.

[1] Cf. *Non lubet scribere, quod in tabula apud pontificem maximum est, quotiens annona cara*, etc., *ap.* Gell. 2, 28, 6; Jordan, p. 16, fr. 1; these words of Cato himself, in connection with Nepos' *capitulatim* (3, 4), leave no doubt as to the abandonment of the old annalistic arrangement. The meaning of *capitulatim* is, however, a matter of dispute; the different views are summarized by Vollertsen, *Quaestt. Caton.*, Kiel, 1880, pp. 45–46; cf. Jordan, pp. lii ff.

[2] Fronto, in his *Principia Historiae*, gave a high place to Cato: *ita Cato oppidatim statuis ornandus, qui primam Latini nominis subolem et Italicarum originum pueritias inlustravit;* a fragment, Naber, p. 203. In late writers we may find a reflection of Sallust's opinion of Cato; thus, *e.g.*, in Ampelius (second century also), *Lib. Mem.*, 19: *Hic est omnium rerum peritissimus et, ut Sallustio Crispo videtur, Romani generis disertissimus.*

[3] *Brutus*, 65; all of Cato's speeches began, according to the old custom, with a prayer to Jupiter, or some other divinity; Serv., *Aen.* 7, 259; 11, 301; cf. Demosthenes, *de Corona*, *init.*

[4] Jordan, p. 33 ff.

fourth century,[1] while in the second the Emperor Hadrian affected to prefer Cato to Cicero.[2]

38. Letters of Cato to his son are mentioned by Cicero[3] and Plutarch[4] in such a way as to suggest that a collection of them had been published, perhaps by Cato himself. If the latter be true, then he probably published other letters as well. But of these also nothing of importance remains.[5] We are still far from the time when the epistle was to be recognized as a distinct literary form.

39. As he had written historical narratives in a large hand for his boy to read,[6] so for the instruction of the grown man Cato later planned a work of encyclopaedic character, but of modest extent, which should contain all that it was most essential for him to know about agriculture, medicine, rhetoric, law, and the art of war. It is not improbable that the last two formed separate works. Beyond fragments, nothing remains of these *Praecepta ad Filium*.

Of that portion which treated of medicine we know neither the form nor the compass, but it must have been a collection of household remedies,[7] including charms and spells, and revealing at every turn the writer's blind prejudice against Greek physicians and their works.[8]

Instructions for the farmer formed, no doubt, the most important part of the *Praecepta ad Filium*; and while this

[1] Serv., *ll. cc.*

[2] Spart., *Hadr.* 16, 6; Fronto was still more unrestrained in his praises of Cato: *Enimvero fandi agendique laudibus longe praestantissimus omnium Cato Porcius . . . ;* a fragment, Naber, *l. c.;* cf. *Epist. ad M. Caes.* 4, 3.

[3] *Off.* 1, 37.

[4] *Cato*, 20 *fin.*; *Quaest. Rom.* 39.

[5] Jordan, pp. 83–84, five fragments.

[6] Plut., *Cato*, 20. Jordan thinks an epitome is meant (p. xxi); Cortese, a first draft of *Origines*, 1, or 1–3 (pp. 104–105).

[7] Plin., *N. H.* 29, 15, speaks of his *commentarium*, or note-book, *quo medeatur filio servis familiaribus.*

[8] This was carried to such an extent that he warns his son of the conspiracy

portion of the work[1] has fared no better than the remainder, the later treatise on farming has been preserved, and may be regarded as an enlarged and revised edition of the counsels first given to his son.

Whatever of practical rules and observations for the orator Cato may have included in his *Praecepta*, it was at least enough to give him his place as the oldest Roman writer on rhetoric.[2]

The legal maxims were still read three hundred years after his death,[3] but they were fruitful chiefly in encouraging his older son to more successful labors in the same field.[4]

The military wisdom of Cato must also have been of a very practical kind, — the results of long and hard experience as soldier, officer, and commander.[5]

**40.** Another work of Cato bore the title *Carmen de Moribus*, and consisted of wise sayings and reminders of ancient custom.[6] It appears to have been written in verse.[7]

formed by Greek physicians against all foreigners: *Iurarunt inter se barbaros necare omnis medicina*, Plin., *N. H.* 29, 14; Jordan, p. 77. It is interesting to find that in this work Cato asserted that vigor in age was a sign of approaching death: *senilem iuventam praematurae mortis esse signum*, Plin., *N. H.* 7, 171; Jordan, p. 78.

[1] Eight brief fragments, Jordan, pp. 78–79. Here also the same oracular style, e.g. *quod non opus est, asse carum est*, frag. 10, Jordan, p. 79 (from Sen., *Ep.* 94, 27); and *quod tibi deerit, a te ipso mutuare*, frag. 13, *ib.* (from Sen., *Ben.* 5, 7, 5). Also Vergil's *laudato ingentia rura | exiguum colito* (*Georg.* 2, 412–413) seems to have been borrowed from Cato: *hoc etiam Cato ait in libris ad filium de agri cultura*, Servius, *ad loc.* (Jordan, *ib.*).

[2] Quintilian, 3, 1, 19: *Romanorum primus (quantum ego quidem sciam) condidit aliqua in hanc materiam M. Cato ille Censorius, . . .* From this work were cited the well-known sayings: *Orator est, Marce fili, vir bonus, dicendi peritus* (Sen., *Contr.* 1, pr. 9 *fin.*; Quint. 12, 1, 1) and *Rem tene, verba sequentur* (Iul. Victor); Jordan, p. 80, three fragments.

[3] Cf. Pomponius in *Digest*, 1, 2, 2, 38.

[4] Gell. 13, 20, 9.

[5] Fifteen fragments are brought together by Jordan, pp. 80–82.

[6] Gellius, 11, 2, preserves the only extant fragments (three); Jordan, pp. 82–83. Cf. note on 35, 13; Intr., §§ 20 n. 4, 21 n. 1.

[7] Perhaps Saturnian, but the question is incapable of solution. Opinions of

Of witty sayings he also made a collection,[1] to which the name Ἀποφθέγματα was given by others. This was a diversion of his old age. Cato's own *bons mots* were constantly quoted. A selection of them is given by Plutarch in his *Life of Cato* (8–9). Cicero was fond of repeating the witticisms of the old censor. As an example may be given the story of Cato and the man who was carrying a chest. '*Cave*,' said the man, *after* Cato had been struck. The censor only asked, '*Num quid aliud fers nisi arcam?*'[2]

**41.** But the one extant work of Cato is his well-known *de Agri Cultura*, or *de Re Rustica*, in 162 brief chapters. No one had yet written upon this subject for Roman readers. A long list of Greek writers, however, could furnish him with material, if he were disposed to borrow. Whether he had heard of the Carthaginian Mago[3] and his twenty-eight books[4] on agriculture is more than doubtful, though that work was translated into Latin by order of the senate a few years after Cato's death,[5] and in Cicero's time was accounted the standard work on farming.

**42.** Cato's own work on agriculture is at the farthest remove from a systematic treatise. A certain effort at arrangement may be traced through a considerable portion, but the remainder has all the flavor of an old-time book of receipts, with the same lack of logical sequence. Cooking

the critics are hopelessly divided; cf. Teuffel, 121, 3; Jordan, p. ciii; Gerlach, p. 37.

[1] *Off.* 1, 104; Plut., *Cato*, 2 *fin.* Julius Caesar made a similar collection, to which Cicero (*ad Fam.* 9, 16, 4) applies the same Greek title. Jordan, p. 83, has but two fragments.

[2] Cf. *de Orat.* 2, 279.

[3] Columella, the Spanish writer on agriculture in the time of Nero, speaks of Mago as the father of the art, 1, 1, 13.

[4] Col. *ib.*; Varro, *R. R.* 1, 1, 10; Isid., *Origg.* 17, 1, 1.

[5] It was *Carthagine capta*, according to Plin., *N. H.* 18, 22; Columella gives no date.

receipts, rustic medicines, incantations, snake-bite remedies, moth preventives, prayers and vows, forms of contract, directions for building anything, from a lime-kiln upward, lists and inventories, estimates, food and clothing-allowances for the household, — all these and many other things find a place at random among subjects more purely agricultural. Superstitious observances appear as matters of course. Special prominence is given to the cultivation of the olive and the vine. Farming is with Cato no mere diversion, to be pursued regardless of cost. Everything is put upon the most rigidly economical basis; no superfluous article is to be kept, if it can be sold. The owner is to be more inclined to sell than to buy — *vendax* rather than *emax*.[1] The strictest accounts must be kept.[2] Food and wine are to be dealt out to the slaves more sparingly in winter than in summer, in sickness than in health.[3] Each slave receives a new tunic, a new cloak, and a pair of wooden shoes once in two years, and must turn in the old garments on receipt of the new![4] Not infrequently the wisdom of Cato takes an oracular form, as when he urges the advantage of visiting your farm often to see with your own eyes what is doing: *frons occipitio prior est*.[5] And in commending promptness: *nam res rustica sic est, si unam rem sero feceris, omnia opera sero facies*.[6]

**43.** It is evident enough that Cato understood how to make a small farm profitable, and was more than willing to part with his secret in the hope of recovering for farming on a modest scale its old prestige. He was fully aware of the dangers of landlordism and the great *latifundia*, tilled by gangs of slaves. But how the sturdy class of peasant proprietors, *viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi*,[7]

[1] *R. R.* 2, 7. [2] *Ib.* 2, 5. [3] *Ib.* 2, 4; 56–57. [4] *Ib.* 59.
[5] *Ib.* 4. Cf. Columella, 4, 18, 1: *oculos et vestigia domini, res agro saluberrimas.* [6] *R. R.* 5, 7. [7] *Ib., praef.* 4.

was to be revived by a system which provides for nothing but slave-labor, he neither asks nor answers.

**44.** To this outline of the works of Cato may be added a single passage from one of his orations, as a specimen of his style and an example of his Ciceronian praise of himself, though he endeavors in this case to disarm criticism by an elaborate rhetorical figure. Cato has called for the reading before the court of a speech written on a previous occasion, — a general defence of himself. While disclaiming any intention of glorifying his own conduct, he merely interrupts the reader from time to time, bidding him omit unwelcome truths and read on; but the next passage is equally personal, and the next interruption, with all its vigor, is a mere stage protest. It is cited by Fronto in a letter to his pupil, Marcus Aurelius, as a striking example of the figure called *praeteritio*. Omitting a few sentences at the beginning: —

'Numquam ego praedam, neque quod de hostibus captum esset, neque manubias inter pauculos amicos meos divisi, ut illis eriperem qui cepissent.' Istuc quoque dele, nihil minus volunt dici; non opus est recitato. . . . 'Numquam ego argentum pro vino congiario inter apparitores atque amicos meos disdidi, neque eos malo publico divites feci.' Enim vero usque istuc ad lignum dele. 'Videsis quo loco res publica siet, uti quod rei publicae bene fecissem, unde gratiam capiebam, nunc idem illud memorare non audeo, ne invidiae siet. Ita inductum est male facere inpoene, bene facere non inpoene licere.'[1]

[1] For the full text of the passage see Fronto, *Epist. ad Antonin. Imperat.* I, 2, Naber, pp. 99–100; Jordan, p. 37; the speech was entitled *de Sumptu Suo.*

## VI. Circumstances in which the Dialogue was written

**45.** It has been usually held that the *Cato Maior* was written shortly after the assassination of Caesar,[1] perhaps in the month of April. It is argued on the negative side that allusions to the tyranny of Caesar would be made here, as in some others of the philosophical works, if the book had been written before the 15th March, 44 B.C. But this is of small weight, for one might as well look for plain allusions to the high-handed doings of Antony, if the dialogue was written after the death of Caesar, and then, because such expressions do not occur, proceed to claim that Cicero must have written while Caesar was still alive.

**46.** On the positive side, the later date has been argued (1) from the fact that *de Divinatione* (except Bk. 1) was composed after the death of Caesar; hence the same must be true of the *Cato*, because in the opening chapter of the second book of *de Divinatione* the *Cato Maior* is spoken of as a recent work; (2) from allusions to the present dialogue in the letters of Cicero to Atticus,[2] where it is mentioned as meeting the approval of Atticus, and likely to calm Cicero himself on rereading it. The earliest of these letters is usually dated 11th May. Further support for the view that the book was not written until after the assassination

[1] Among the editors who have dated the *Cato Maior* in the spring of 44, *after* the assassination of Caesar, are: Orelli, Baiter-Kayser, Lahmeyer, Sommerbrodt, Meissner, Schneidewin, Reid, Shuckburgh-Egbert, Rockwood (hesitatingly); also Kühner in his German translation.

The earlier date, *before* the Ides of March, 44, is preferred by Teuffel, Maurer (in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 129 (1884), 386 ff.), Kornitzer, Schiche, Stickney, Bennett (who does not feel much certainty).

[2] Cf. *ad Att.* 14, 21, 3, 11th May; 16, 3, 1, 16th or 17th July; 16, 11, 3, 5th November.

is found by some in (3) a happy tone which they discover in the dialogue as a whole, — his joy, at the downfall of the tyrant, making Cicero feel younger than usual, — a feeling which soon vanished, as is shown by the letter just cited. For others the same theory is supported by (4) the troubles briefly alluded to at the beginning, as weighing upon both Atticus and Cicero, with the interpretation that these troubles, for which no remedy can be found at present, are the anxieties felt by the two friends as to the result of Antony's conduct, — the tyranny which is more to be dreaded than that of Caesar.

**47.** Against these arguments it may be said: (1) that the introduction to the second book of *de Divinatione* marks with perfect definiteness the change in Cicero's literary plans made by the death of Caesar and its consequences, drawing him again into public life, and leaving only a remnant of his time for philosophical writing.[1] That the announcement of this change of plan does not come at the opening of the first book shows conclusively that that book was already finished by the 15th March. Hence the statement, *Interiectus est etiam nuper liber is, quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus*,[2] can only mean that the *Cato* either preceded the first book of the *de Divinatione*, or was written before Cicero had reached the second book. In either case, then, the *Cato Maior* is proved to have been written *before* the death of Caesar, by the very passage which has sometimes been thought to prove the contrary.[3]

(2) If we look more closely at the letters to Atticus already cited, we find them three in number, dated respectively 11th May, 16th (17th) July, 5th November. The last two simply express Cicero's gratification that the work

[1] Cf. *de Div.* 2, 7. [2] *Ib.* 2, 3.
[3] Cf. *ib.* § 4: *Adhuc haec erant*, . . .

has met the increasing approval of Atticus, and given him some consolation. The first letter (§ 3) says: *Legendus mihi saepius est 'Cato maior' ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit. Stomachor omnia.* From the context the cause of his vexation is clear. His high hopes of a restored republic have been dashed. The tyranny of Caesar has merely descended to Antony, and the assassination, which at first brought such joy to the hearts of Cicero and all the optimates, is now seen to have had no other effect than to place equally unlimited power in less competent hands. This sudden revulsion of feeling makes Cicero eager to recall the mood of philosophic calm in which he had recently written on old age. But such a wish presupposes an interval, during which, with the passing of that tranquil mind, the very counsels by which old age was to be made happy have grown rusty in memory. It would be absurd to say *legendus mihi saepius* of a book written within six weeks, the ink scarcely dry. Evidently the *Cato* must precede the death of Caesar.

(3) As for the serene, if not exactly happy, mood in which the whole dialogue is written, it is quite unnecessary to assume as its cause the joy felt by Cicero when the *liberatores* had accomplished their work, and rid the state of Caesar. That joy was too sudden and unrestrained, not to say far too short-lived, to result in philosophic calm. The bitterest disappointment at once replaced the exultation of the moment. There is no time after the assassination when we can imagine Cicero sitting down in so tranquil a frame of mind. In the peaceful temper of the *Cato* one must feel that something of resignation is present. He tells us, in fact, in the second book of the *de Divinatione*[1] that Plato and philosophy have taught him to see in tyranny only one of the forms of government through

[1] §§ 6–7.

which states naturally run. Hence he accepts as natural his retirement from public life, and devotes himself to the one form of service still open to him — the task of creating a literature of philosophy in Latin. It is not complete submission, but the peace of mind which follows, after perplexing questions have been thought through, even to their bitterest conclusions, — the peace in which one wears, without chafing, the fetters of limitation. Such was the state of mind in which the *Cato Maior* was produced.

(4) The troubles of § 1, more difficult to remedy than the discontent of old age, are alluded to in terms too general to leave them any weight whatever in an argument. At all events, they may quite as naturally refer to the feelings of Cicero and Atticus under Caesar as under his immediate successor. It is surely not unreasonable to suppose from the language of the sentence in question that Cicero has a distinct form of consolation to offer for the evils of the time, viz. the argument that tyranny has its place in the cycle of governments, through which fortune requires most states to pass; that the friends of republican government have nothing to do but to submit, as philosophers, to the inevitable, and bide the time of another revolution. But this is a large and difficult subject, and Cicero is not yet prepared to publish an extensive work, involving an abandonment, more or less frankly confessed, of positions taken by him in *de Re Publica* ten years before. Hence for these cares *consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda* (§ 1).

**48.** In view of all that has been said, there should be no hesitation in discarding the older theory of a later date, in favor of the more recent view that the dialogue was written about the end of the year 45, or in January or February of 44. For a date before the 1st of January some support may be found in the close resemblance between the argu-

ments and illustrations employed in the fourth part of the present dialogue (on the nearness of death to the old man) and those previously used in the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*. Upon that book he must have been engaged in the summer of 45, for as early as May we find him asking Atticus for books on the subject.[1] Much of the same material reappears in the *Cato*, not as though copied from the earlier work, but with every appearance of a free recasting from memory, thus implying a comparatively short interval between the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations* and the *Cato*. Yet this point is not to be urged too strongly, for the reason that many of the arguments concerned were of a stereotyped order, and the illustrations commonplaces.

The book was written in haste, and some months later revised with equal haste.[2] Cicero himself in a letter to Atticus[3] speaks of sending him the *Cato* revised *crebris locis*. Not a few of the defects in logical connection may perhaps be traced back to this double recension. Atticus' copyists were guilty occasionally, it may be, of inserting Cicero's additions in the wrong place.[4]

## VII. Manuscripts and Editions

**49.** Many Mss. of the *Cato Maior* are scattered about among the libraries of Europe. The best are in Paris and Leyden, those still preserved in Italy being, with scarcely an exception, of small importance.[5] None is known to be

[1] *Ad Att.* 13, 32, 2.

[2] Cf. Lütjohann, in *Rhein. Mus.* 37, 496 ff., who, with other radical critics, would assume all manner of dislocations in the text.

[3] *Ad Att.* 16, 3, 1, cited above, § 46.

[4] Cf. Otto, p. 95, the article cited below, Intr., § 53.

[5] The Ambrosian Library (Milan) alone has twenty-four Mss. of the *Cato Maior* (Ramorino, *Rivista di Filologia*, 15, 248). But most of these are of the fifteenth century.

older than the ninth century. Within a generation several neglected Mss. have been brought to notice, with the result that the text as given by the older editors has suffered not a few changes.

For many years the standard edition was that of Halm (Hm.), in vol. 4 of the Orelli-Baiter-Halm Cicero, Zürich, 1861. The text was derived from the following Mss.: —

P = Parisinus, 6332, tenth century, Hm., or ninth, Dahl. This ends in § 78, but is much the most important of Halm's Mss., containing also the *Tusculan Disputations*, and is the only profane Ms. of importance which divides the text into verses, as in the scriptures.
B = Benedictoburanus, in Munich (4611), twelfth century.
E = Erfurtensis, in Berlin, Royal Library (252), twelfth century.
I = Indersdorfiensis, Munich (7809), thirteenth century.
R = Rhenaugiensis, 127, Zürich, twelfth century, Hm. (fifteenth, Bt., eleventh, Châtelain).
S = Salisburgensis, Munich (15,964), eleventh century.
N = a fragment at Berne, §§ 80–85 only, thirteenth century.

Halm also gave the readings of a few other Mss. in German libraries.

**50.** The recension of Baiter (Bt.), in vol. 7 of Baiter and Kayser's Cicero, Leipzig, 1864, took advantage of the recent collation by Mommsen (1863) of —

L = Leidensis (Voss. F. 12), Leyden, tenth century, a Ms. now considered to be of equal importance with P, though previously it had been all but unknown. Bt. also brought another Ms. into notice, viz.: —
Q = Rhenaugiensis, 126, Zürich, twelfth century.

In the Teubner text-edition of Cicero, pt. 4, vol. 3, Leipzig, 1879, a still higher value was placed upon L by C. F. W. Müller (Ml.), who ranks P as inferior in authority to L, a view held by Sommerbrodt also (v. below), and by others. This deference paid to L in the years following its discovery has somewhat lessened since other Mss. —

no one of which, however, may be quite compared with it in authority — have been collated and described in the following critical works: —

Dahl, *Zur Handschriftenkunde u. Kritik des ciceronischen Cato Maior*, Christiania, 1885–1886.

Gemoll, *Zwei neue Hdss. zu Ciceros Cato Maior*, in *Hermes*, 20, 1885, pp. 331 ff.

de Vries, *Exercitationes Palaeographicae*, Leyden, 1889.

Ramorino, in *Rivista di Filologia*, 15, 1886–1887, pp. 247 ff.

Clark, *Collations from the Harleian Ms. of Cicero*, 2682, in *Anecdota Oxon.*, 1892, class. ser. 1, pt. 7.

51. Dahl has given a new collation of P, besides several other Mss. at Paris, thus: —

$P^a$ = Parisinus, 5752 [Puteanus], tenth century, agreeing oftener with P than with L; second hand based on P.

$V^i$ = Victorinus, 14,699, from the abbey of St. Victor, eleventh century, agreeing frequently with P, but often with L.

$P^b$ = Parisinus, 6364, fourteenth century, with many omissions and transpositions.

$S^g$ = Sangermanensis, 13,340, twelfth century, a few readings only.

To Dahl and Gemoll we are indebted for the readings of two more Leyden Mss.: —

V = Voss. Lat. O. 79, tenth century (ninth, Châtelain, de Groot), more closely related to P than to L; the second hand is based upon P. This is a Ms. of great value.[1]

v = Voss. Lat. F. 104, thirteenth century (Dahl), or fourteenth (Gemoll), related to L.

To de Vries for another Paris Ms.: —

A = Ashburnhamensis, ninth century, of the same family with L, and among the best of our Mss.

[1] A supplementary collation of V by de Groot appeared in *Hermes*, 25, 1890, pp. 293 ff.

To Ramorino for the readings of three Mss. in the Laurentian library at Florence. The oldest of these is: —

M (Ram.'s Ma) = Laurentianus L. 45, eleventh century, a Ms. related to P and V.

To Clark for collations of a celebrated Ms. of a considerable part of Cicero, formerly in the cathedral library at Cologne, now in the British Museum: —

H = Harleianus, 2682, eleventh century. The first hand usually agrees with P, the second with L. In a number of cases H supplies Ms. authority for the conjectures of editors to whom it was unknown.

**52.** Anz, in the edition named below (1st ed.), gave some readings of: —

Br = Bruxellensis, Brussels, tenth century, related to L.[1]

Equal in age with the oldest Mss. of the *Cato Maior*, but disappointing in its critical value, is: —

K = Hadoardus' collection of excerpts from Cicero, including a considerable part of this dialogue. This has been published by Schwenke in *Philologus*, Suppl. 5, 399 ff. The Ms. is in the Vatican (Vat. Reg. Suec., 1762, ninth century).

Another Ms. (twelfth century) of the Benedictine library at Admont, in Styria, has been collated by Petschenig (*Wiener Studien*, 12, 1890, 321 ff.). This Admontensis (Ad) is closely related to Halm's BIS.

**53.** Of critical essays and notes, a number are cited in the Appendix. Worthy of separate mention in this place are: —

A. Otto, *Die Interpolationen in Ciceros Cato Maior*, in *Philologische Abhandlungen Martin Hertz u. s. w. dargebracht*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 94–104, in part a defence of the vulgate against the attacks of: —
Lütjohann, in *Rheinisches Museum*, 37, 496–505, and
Meissner, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, 131, 209–220.

[1] The principal readings of this Ms. are also given by Kornitzer (v. below).

**54.** Recent text-editions of importance are: —

Kornitzer (Korn.), 2d ed., Vienna, 1892.
Ramorino, in the Hoepli series of Inama-Ramorino, Milan, 1893. The text was the work of Schiche (Sch.), Ramorino (Ram.) adding merely a list of divergences from Sch.
Schiche (Sch.²), 2d ed., Leipzig, 1893.
Schneidewin, Max, Hamburg, 1893. The text and a German translation are printed on opposite pages. The book also contains Jacob Grimm's celebrated *Rede über das Alter*.
Novák, 2d ed., Prague, 1899.

**55.** Editions with commentary vary much in the care devoted to the text, some having an independent value in that regard, others making the fewest departures from the text of Halm or Müller. A few of the more useful are given here: —

Lahmeyer (Lm.), 4th ed., Leipzig, 1877.
Sommerbrodt (Sb.), 11th ed., Berlin, 1889; 12th ed., 1896.
Meissner (Msn.), 3d ed., Leipzig, 1888.
Reid, 2d ed., Cambridge, England, 1894.
Reid-Kelsey, 7th impression, Boston, 1896.
Stickney, New York, 1887.
Rockwood, New York, 1895.
Anz, 2d ed., Gotha, 1897; omitting, unhappily, the critical appendix of the 1st ed. (1889).
Bennett (Ben.), Boston, 1897.
Shuckburgh-Egbert, New York, 1897.
Weissenfels (Ws.), Leipzig and Berlin, 1903.

Among the translations may be named: —

Peabody, Dr. Andrew P., with introduction and notes, Boston, 1884.
Schneidewin, see above, § 54.
Kühner (also in German), 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1878.
Shuckburgh, London and New York, 1900.

# NOMENCLATOR SENVM

## 56. I. Men cited as *Senes* in the *Cato Maior*

Cicero has drawn no hard and fast line, but allows himself the freedom of naming as *senes* some men who were barely fifty. Those in brackets are examples of an unhappy old age. A few are mythological.

Sex. Aelius Paetus Catus, § 27.
M. Aemilius Lepidus, § 61.
L. Aemilius Paulus, §§ 29, 61, 75, 82.
L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, §§ 15, 82.
Arganthonius, king of Tartessus, § 69.
A. Atilius Calatinus, § 61.
L. Caecilius Metellus, §§ 30, 61.
Appius Claudius Caecus, §§ 16, 37.
Cleanthes, the Stoic, § 23.
M. Cornelius Cethegus, §§ 10, 50.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus, P. Cornelius Scipio } §§ 29, 75, 82.
P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, §§ 19, 29, 35, 61, 82.
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, § 50.
Ti. Coruncanius, §§ 15, 27, 43.
M'. Curius Dentatus, §§ 15, 43, 55–56.
Cyrus the Elder, king of Persia, §§ 30, 32, 79–81.
P. Decius Mus, §§ 43, 75.
Democritus of Abdera, the philosopher, § 23.
Diogenes of Babylon, the Stoic, § 23.
C. Duilius, § 44.
Q. Ennius, §§ (1), 10, 14, 16, 50, 73.
Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator, §§ 10–13, 61.
C. Fabricius Luscinus, §§ 15, 43.
Gorgias of Leontini, the rhetorician, §§ 13, 23.
Hesiodus, §§ 23, 54.
Homerus, §§ 23, 31, 54.
Isocrates, §§ 13, 23.
Laërtes, § 54.
P. Licinius Crassus Dives, §§ 27, 50, 61.
Livius Andronicus, § 50.
[C. Livius Salinator, § 7.]
T. Maccius Plautus, § 50.
Masinissa, king of Numidia, § 34.
[Milo of Croton, the athlete, §§ 27, 33.]
Cn. Naevius, §§ 20, 50.

Nestor, § 31.
Pelias, § 83.
Plato, §§ 13, 23, 41, 44, 78.
M. Porcius Cato Censorius, § 3, and throughout.
[Sp. Postumius Albinus, § 7.]
Pythagoras, §§ 23, 33, 73, 78.
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, § 56.
Simonides, § 23.
Socrates, §§ 26, 59, 78.
Solon, §§ 26, 50, 72–73.
Sophocles, §§ 22, 47.
Stesichorus, § 23.
C. Sulpicius Galus, § 49.
Themistocles, §§ 8, 21.
Tithonus, § 3.
M. Valerius Corvinus, § 60.
Xenocrates, the Academic philosopher, § 23.
Zeno, the Stoic, § 23.

57. The following might have been cited as old men, but are only mentioned in another connection: —

Archytas of Tarentum, the philosopher, §§ 39, 41.
Aristides, § 21.
Hannibal, § 10, (75).
Pisistratus, § 72.
Xenophon, §§ 30, 46, 59, 79.

But for his prejudices Cicero might have included Epicurus in his honor-roll of *senes*. Instead, we find only a scornful allusion, § 43: *esse quendam Athenis*.

58. II. Men whose Omission is Noteworthy,

although Cicero set himself no standard of completeness.

Among the philosophers one would look for: —

Archimedes, 287–212.
Diogenes, the Cynic, ca. 412–ca. 323.
Theophrastus, ca. 372–287.

Among the poets for: —

Aeschylus, 525–456.
Anacreon, ca. 85 years (sixth century, B.C.)
Callimachus, ca. 310–ca. 240.
Epicharmus, ca. 540–ca. 450.
Euripides, ca. 484 (480?)–406.
Pacuvius, ca. 220–ca. 132 (painter and poet, living at the time of the dialogue).
Pindar, 522–ca. 442.

Among the orators for: —

Aeschines, 389–314.
Lysias, ca. 450–380+.

Among other writers for: —

Herodotus, ca. 484–ca. 425.
Hippocrates, the physician, 460–ca. 377 (359?).
Timaeus, the Sicilian historian from whom Cicero drew much material for his Verrine orations, ca. 342–256.

Among the men of action for: —

Camillus, –364.
Hiero II, of Syracuse, ca. 306–216.
Ptolemy I, 367–283.

59. III. LIVES WHICH CONNECT THE AGE OF CATO with that of Cicero, and that of Cicero with the times of the empire: —

L. Accius, the tragic poet, born 170, had reached the age of twenty-one at the death of Cato, but in his old age (about 85) conversed with the young Cicero, who may have received from him some impressions of the old censor (cf. *Brutus*, 107).

Q. Mucius Scaevola, the augur, who was born about 159, and may well have had some boyish recollections of Cato, directed in his old age the legal studies of both Atticus and Cicero, and was still living in 88 (cf. *Brutus*, 306; *de Leg.* 1, 13; Val. Max. 3, 8, 5).

M. Perperna, censor when Cicero was twenty, had died in 49, five years before the dialogue was written, at the age of ninety-eight. Certain traditions in regard to Cato, derived from surviving friends of the censor, were handed down by Perperna to Cornelius Nepos (*Cato*, 1, 1), and possibly to Cicero also.

Q. Roscius, the most eminent actor of the day, was the friend of Sulla, and later of Cicero. He had known men who knew Cato, and died at an advanced age, about 62 B.C.

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T. Pomponius Atticus (109–32), to whom the book is dedicated, lived only a dozen years after the death of his friend, but did much to insure the posthumous fame of Cicero.

M. Terentius Varro (116–27), ten years older than Cicero, was the

greatest scholar of the day, and its most distinguished example of a happy and industrious old age.

Terentia, the wife of Cicero, whom he divorced in 46, reached the great age of 103 (Plin., *N. H.* 7, 158).

M. Tullius Tiro, the freedman and secretary of Cicero, lived to be one hundred, and died 4 B.C.

Orbilius Pupillus (ca. 114–ca. 17) the stern schoolmaster of Horace, *plagosus Orbilius*, came to Rome at the age of fifty in the consulship of Cicero (63), lived and taught in poverty, and died nearly one hundred years old (Suet., *Gramm.* 9).

Valerius Cato, another influential teacher, of about the same age with Cicero himself, lived to an extreme old age, and as a critic of republican poetry, as a teacher and public reader of the Augustan poets, formed a link between two periods of Roman literature (Suet., *Gramm.* 11).

C. Asinius Pollio, 76 B.C.–5 A.D., by a long and distinguished life bridged over the long interval between the young manhood of Cicero and the fourth decade of Augustus' reign.

M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, 64 B.C.–8 A.D. had already given great promise as an orator before the death of Cicero, and became in that field, as in several others, one of the chief ornaments of the Augustan age.

C. Iulius Hyginus, freedman of Augustus, a teacher, and librarian of the Palatine library, lived from about 64 B.C. to perhaps 17 A.D., in the time of Tiberius.

Strabo, the geographer (ca. 63 B.C.–ca. 23 A.D.) also survived the Augustan age by several years, after a long life of study and travel.

Q. Haterius, an orator, not less than twenty years old when the *Cato Maior* was written, reached the age of ninety and the year 26 A.D. (Suet. *ap.* Hieron., *Chron.* 778).

Augustus, 63 B.C.–14 A.D., see below, § 60.

T. Livius Patavinus (59 B.C.–17 A.D.), the historian, outlived nearly all the literary men of the Augustan period.

Annaeus Seneca, rhetorician, father of the philosopher Seneca, was born at least ten years before the writing of the *Cato*, yet in some ninety-three years he survived both Augustus and Tiberius, dying in the reign of Caligula, about 39 A.D. He laments that he might have heard Cicero but for the civil wars (*Contr.* 1, *praef.* 11). Of these wars, as of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, he wrote a history (L. Seneca, frag. 99, Haase).

A link between the old age of Atticus and the reign of Nero may be found in

L. Volusius Saturninus, who was born six years after the death of Cicero, and died as *praefectus urbi*, 56 A.D., aged ninety-three, fifty-three years after his consulship (Tac., *Ann.* 13, 30; Plin., *N. H.* 7, 62; Columella, 1, 7, 3).

## IV. Examples of Old Age from the Time of the Roman Empire

**60.** (*a*) Of the emperors themselves few attained to old age: —

Augustus, 63 B.C.–14 A.D., reigned from 27 B.C.
Tiberius, 42 B.C.–37 A.D., reigned from 14 A.D.
Galba, 5 B.C.–69 A.D., reigned 68, June–69, January.
Vespasian, 9–79, reigned from 69.
Nerva, 32 (26?)–98, reigned 96–98, January.
Antoninus Pius, 86–161, reigned from 138.
Justinian, ca. 483–565, reigned from 527.

Here belongs also the empress,

Livia, wife of Augustus, mother of Tiberius, 57 B.C.–29 A.D.

**61.** (*b*) Other men of note: —

Q. Asconius Pedianus, scholar and commentator on the orations of Cicero, ca. 3 A.D.–88.
L. Iunius Moderatus Columella, the Spanish writer on agriculture, a contemporary of the younger Seneca, reached an advanced age.
L. Annaeus Seneca himself, ca. 4 B.C.–65 A.D.
L. Verginius Rufus, who three times refused the empire, 15–97.
Plutarch, the biographer, who saw eleven emperors on the throne, ca. 46–ca. 120.
Epictetus, the slave-philosopher, ca. 50–117+.
Silius Italicus, poet and public man, ca. 25–101.
Juvenal, the satirist, ca. 60–ca. 140.
Suetonius, the biographer of the Caesars, ca. 75–ca. 160.
Fronto, rhetorician, and tutor of M. Aurelius, ca. 100–175+.

Herodes Atticus, orator, teacher of M. Aurelius, and patron of the arts, ca. 100–ca. 175.
Galen, the physician, ca. 131–ca. 201.
Ausonius, poet, rhetorician, tutor to Gratian, ca. 310–ca. 395.

(*c*) Fathers and saints of the early church. From this very numerous class a few striking examples: —

Tertullian, ca. 150–ca. 230.
Damasus, Pope, 305–384.
S. Augustine, 354–430.
S. Jerome, 331–420.

# VERSES BY POPE LEO XIII

## ON FRUGALITY AND THE *VIRIDIS SENECTVS*[1]

### Tenvi Victv Contentvs Inglvviem Fvge
### Ad Fabricivm Rvfvm Epistola

Quo victu immunem morbis, et robore vitam
Ducere florentem possis, sermone diserto
Sedulus Hippocratis cultor rigidusque satelles
Haec nuper praecepta bonus tradebat Ofellus;
Multa et de tristi ingluvie gravis ore locutus.
Munditiae imprimis studeas; sine divite cultu
Mensa tibi, nitidae lances et candida mappa.
Apponi in mensa iubeas purissima vina;
Et vacuus curis, grato praecordia potu
Demulce et recrea, convivas inter amicos.
Sobrius at caveas, nimium ne crede Lyaeo,
Neu crebra pigeat calices perfundere lympha.
Candida lympha! datum vix quidquam hoc munere maius,
Vix quidquam varios vitae magis utile in usus.
E munda Cerere atque excoctos delige panes.
Quas gallina dapes aut bos agnusve pararint
Sume libens; toto nam firmant corpore vires;
At mollire prius carnes, et fercula cures

[1] Reprinted by permission. The verses were written in 1897, and appeared in *La Voce della Verità*, 19 May, 1897. The text is that of *Leonis XIII P. M. Carmina Novissima*, Udine, 1898, a copy of which was kindly sent from the Vatican. A translation by Dr. H. T. Henry has appeared (with text), New York, 1902; another by Andrew Lang, 1897, from the unrevised text.

Ne siser inficiat, ne faecula Coa vel allec.
Nunc age; provideas tereti defusa catino
Ne desit mensae spumantis copia lactis.
Nil vitale magis, nil lacte salubrius; infans
Qui lac suxisti, senior bene lacte valebis.
Degustanda simul profer dulcissima mella;
Attamen Hyblaeo parcus de nectare liba.
Tum laudata tibi sint ova recentia, succum
Leni igne aut libeat modicis siccare patellis,
Sugere seu mollem pleno sit gratius ore;
Vtcumque absumas erit utilis esca saluti.
Culta suburbano, riguoque virentia in horto
Adde olera et pubens decusso flore legumen.
Adde novos quos laeta refert tibi vinea fructus,
Dulces pampinea decerptos vite racemos,
Pruna admixta pyris, imprimis mitia poma,
Quae pulcre in cistis mensam rubicunda coronent.
Postremo e tostis succedat potio baccis,
Quas tibi Moka ferax e littore mittit Eoo:
Nigrantem laticem sensim summisque labellis
Sorbilla; dulcis stomachum bene molliet haustus.
De tenui victu haec teneas, his utere tutus,
Ad seram ut valeas sanus vegetusque senectam.
At contra (haec sapiens argute addebat Ofellus)
Nectere nata dolos, homines et perdere nata,
Vitanda Ingluvies, crudelis et improba Siren.
Principio haec illi sollers et sedula cura,
Instruere ornatu mensas cultuque decoras.
Explicat ipsa, viden? tonsis mantelia villis;
Grandia disponit longo ordine pocula, lances,
Caelatas auro pateras, argentea vasa;
Mensa thymo atque apio redolet florumque corollis.
His laute instructis, simulata voce locuta
Convivas trahit incautos; succedere tecto,

Et lectis blanda invitat discumbere eburnis;
Continuoque reposta cadis lectissima vina
Caecuba depromit, Coumque vetusque Falernum,
Quin exquisita stillatos arte liquores
E musto et pomis, ultro potantibus offert.
Convivae humectant certatim guttura, et una
Succosas avido degustant ore placentas.
Ecce autem Lucanus aper, perfusus abunde
Mordaci pipere atque oleo, profertur edendus,
Et leporum pingues armi, et iecur anseris albi,
Assique in verubus turdi, niveique columbi.
Carnibus admixti pisces; cum murice rhombi,
Ostrea, et educti Miseno e gurgite echini.
Hos super, immanis patina porrecta nitenti,
Apparet squillas inter muraena natantes.
Attonitis inhiant oculis; saturantur opime;
Cuncta vorant usque ad fastidia; iamque Lyaeo
Inflati venas nimio, dapibusque gravati
Surgunt convivae, temere bacchantur in aula,
Insana et pugiles inter se iurgia miscent,
Defessi donec lymphata mente quiescunt.
Laeta dolum Ingluvies ridet, iam facta suorum
Compos votorum, et gaudet, memor artis iniquae,
Ceu nautas tumida pereuntes aequoris unda,
Mergere convivas miseros sub gurgite tanto.
Nam subito exsudant praecordia, et excita bilis
E iecore in stomachum larga affluit, ilia torquet,
Immanemque ciet commoto ventre tumultum;
Membra labant incerta, stupent pallentia et ora.
Corpore sic misere exhausto fractoque, quid ultra
Audeat Ingluvies? Ipsum, proh dedecus! ipsum
Figere humo, ac (tantum si fas) extinguere malit
Immortalem animum, divinae particulam aurae.

## M. TVLLI CICERONIS

# CATO MAIOR DE SENECTVTE LIBER

## AD T. POMPONIVM ATTICVM

**I.** 1. *O Tite, si quid ego adiuvero curamve levasso,*
*Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,*
*Ecquid erit praemi?*

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem adfari te, Attice, quibus adfatur Flamininum

**1. O Tite**: cleverly applying to Atticus[1] the hexameters put by Ennius[1] in his epic (*Annales*) into the mouth of a poor shepherd, addressing another Titus, viz. the consul T. Quinctius Flamininus (198 B.C.),[1] and offering to release the Roman army from the straits in which it found itself, after wasting forty days in futile efforts to dislodge Philip[1] of Macedon from a mountain pass in Epirus. The shepherd was ready, for a consideration, to guide troops to a height commanding the king's camp; Livy, 32, 11, 1 ff. — 1. **adiuvero**: an old form, from the lost aorist, bearing the same relation to *adiūvero* as *faxo* to *fecero;* cf. App. — 1. **levasso**: instead of *levavero*, the *ss* being probably a trace of the lost aorist. Other early Latin peculiarities in these verses are *versāt* (2), *plenus* with silent *s* (6), *fidēi* (6). — 2. **coquit**: 'vexes,' a tropical sense which had not found its way into prose in the time of Cicero. — 4. **enim**: elliptical, introducing an explanation of the unusual mode of address to Atticus, *i.e.* in quoted verses; not affirmative, as it often is in

[1] See Index of Persons.

*Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei;*

quamquam certo scio non, ut Flamininum,

*Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque;*

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri. Quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda; nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere.

early Latin, especially in replies and retorts. — 6. **Ille vir**: cf. App. — 6. **magna cum re**: Ennius has put abl. of manner for abl. of quality. — 6. **re**: *re familiari*, 'property'; perhaps an indirect allusion to Cicero's own diminished fortunes. — 7. **quamquam**: as *utut* is 'howsoever,' so *quamquam* is 'however,' 'and yet' (cf. 9, 5; 67, 2; 69, 1); and by analogy *etsi* was used with the same meaning (cf. 2, 3). — 9. **aequitatem**: here 'evenness of temper,' an *aequa mens*; cf. Horace, *Od.* 2, 3, 1. — 10. **cognomen**: besides his own family name, a Roman might inherit an additional name, or add one or more *cognomina* in token of adoption, foreign conquest or residence (*e.g.* the Younger Scipio, in Index of Persons, *s.v.* Cornelius). Pomponius's twenty-two years of residence at Athens had brought him the cognomen Atticus, and from the Athenians the offer of citizenship, which he declined (Nepos, *Att.* 3, 1). — 10. **sed**: without the usual *etiam*, emphasizes the second member at the expense of that with *non . . . solum*. — 10. **humanitatem**: 'cultivation,' 'refinement'; cf. Nepos, *ib.* 3, 3. — 11. **rebus**: *i.e.* the present condition of the state, the supremacy of Cæsar and the destruction of republican institutions; cf. Intr., § 47 (4). — 12. **quibus me ipsum**: for *quibus egomet ipse*. The sense of balance suggests an identical construction for *te* and *me*, as though it were a *tam . . . quam* sentence. — 13. **consolatio**: this would consist of arguments showing that tyranny is a form of government through which all states must sooner or later pass. If that is the order of nature, then the wise man, however he may mourn for the republic, will submit to the inevitable; cf. Intr., *l.c.* — 13. **maior**: a more serious task, as involving a whole political philosophy, with a theory of cycles in forms of

**2.** Hoc enim onere, quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me etiam ipsum levari volo; etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter sicut omnia et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur digne satis laudari philosophia poterit, cui

government, all in conflict with the system elaborated a decade before in *de Re Publica*. By comparison it was easy to defend old age; and then Atticus was not older than 65, Cicero himself three years younger.

**2. aut iam . . . aut certe**: 'if not already . . . at least'; cf. L. 1669. — **2. et te et me**: not *teque meque* (poetic); cf. Ennius, above, 1. 8; L. 1650; G. 476, n. 5 (*d*). — **3. etsi**: cf. on 1, 7: *quamquam*. — **3. modice**: recalls 1, 9: *moderationem . . . et aequitatem*, as *sapienter* corresponds with 1, 10: *humanitatem et prudentiam*. Even a good Epicurean, like Atticus, knew how to be stoical. — **5. occurrebas**: *i.e.* the thought of you came to me as one . . . ; *occurrere* is *in mentem venire*. — **6. eo . . . quo**: correlative, 'a gift which,' while *munere* repeats the suggestion already given in 1, 14: *ad te conscribere*, of a work dedicated to Atticus. — **7. uteretur**: the idea is of profit or advantage, not mere use. — **7. libri**: not 'book' in the modern sense, but, properly speaking, the single roll of papyrus which would suffice for the *Cato Maior*, hence 'work,' or in this case 'essay.' — **8. absterserit**: the figure is from the wiping away of tears. That this state of mind did not last long is shown by the references cited, Intr., § 47 (2). For the tense of *absterserit* and *effecerit*, see H. 550; L. 1757; A. 287, *c*; G. 513 (and R.); B. 268, 7. — **10. igitur**: because the consolations for old age are so largely drawn from philosophy. — **10. laudari**: the praises of philosophy, repeatedly sounded by Cicero, formed the subject of one of the most famous of his works, the lost *Hortensius*, of which St. Augustine said that it was the occasion of his conversion to Christianity (*Confessions*, 3, 4 and 8, 7). — **10. cui qui**: *i.e. cum qui ei*. The

qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere.

3. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus; hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Ceus (parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula), sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio. Apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantes quod is tam facile senec-

juxtaposition of two relatives, or a relative pronoun and a relative adverb or relative conjunction (*e.g. cum*), is frequent in Latin, but often forced and unnatural in modern English; cf. 13, 13; 22, 6. — 11. **possit**: that the clause *cui . . . possit* is a characteristic clause (rather than causal) is shown by the ease with which *cuius consultus*, and the like, could be substituted for *cui qui pareat*.

**3. ceteris**: neut.; philosophical subjects are meant, *e.g.* the nature of the gods (*de Natura Deorum*), the question whether death is an evil or not, or whether virtue alone is sufficient for a happy life (*Tusculan Disputations*). — 1. **saepe**: *i.e.* no change is contemplated in his plans for a series of philosophical works. — 2. **misimus**: epistolary perf., 'am sending.' — 2. **Omnem**: because the *sermo* is not to be a conversation, in which the three speakers really discuss old age, but a speech by Cato. This form of nominal dialogue was used by Aristotle. — 3. **Tithono**: the last person in the world of fact or fable to make men wish to reach old age, or to console those already aged and decrepit; a weightier reason for rejecting Aristo's choice than that given in the text. Cicero's friend Varro named one of his satires *Tithonus*, the subject being old age. — 4. **fabula**: the sense of 'myth' is made to include 'mythical character' also. — 4. **seni** serves to distinguish the old censor from his descendant, Cato of Utica. Men of a former generation are sometimes called *senes*; cf. *Brutus*, 39; and perhaps Horace, *Sat.* 2, 1, 34 (of Lucilius). — 5. **maiorem**: not in comparison with the words of a Tithonus, but with a discourse in the person of Cicero himself, or of a contemporary; cf. Intr., §§ 3–5. — 5. **Apud quem**: the only reference to the scene of the dialogue. — 6. **facimus**: often used of poets and other writers, and their treatment of characters; cf. 54, 6. — 6. **admirantes**: cf. 4, 1; of admiration as expressed in

tutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, id tribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. 4. *Scipio.* Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

*Cato.* Rem haud sane difficilem, Scipio et Laeli, admirari

words. — 7. **eruditius**: to forestall the inevitable criticism that Cato is represented as widely acquainted with Greek philosophy; Intr., § 19. — 8. **suis libris**: on the works of Cato, cf. Intr., § 34 ff. — 9. **litteris Graecis**: cf. 26, 11: *qui litteras Graecas senex didici*; cf. Intr., § 11. — 10. **plura**: sc. *dicere* or *loqui*. The omitted infinitive would be the subj. of *est*, *opus* the pred. For the figure, *revocatio*, cf. 45, 1.

4. **cum**: *i.e.* in talking with. — 1. **hoc**: 1st person, and accompanied by a gesture, — 'my friend . . . here.' — 2. **ceterarum rerum**: 'in all other respects.' — 3. **vel maxime quod**: 'in this especially that.' — 4. **senserim**: a pleonasm, logically independent of the reason; it would naturally take the form of an indicative parenthesis, — *quod, ut sensi, numquam tibi senectus gravis sit*. But *dico* or *sentio*, though unnecessary, are in Cicero often drawn into the *quod*-clause. The causal clause in this case gives the reason Scipio assigns for the wonder he is in the habit of expressing in conversation with Laelius; for *admirari* is treated as a verb of saying; cf. 3, 6: *admirantes quod . . . ferat*. — 5. **Aetna gravius**: according to the Greek proverb, τὸ δὲ γῆρας βαρύτερον Αἴτνης, preserved in a fragment of the comic poet Crates (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 98, 72); in a fuller and more poetical form, Euripides, *Herc. Fur.* 637 ff. The proverb seems to occur nowhere else in Roman writers. — 6. **Rem haud sane difficilem**: the emphasis of the Latin must be expressed with periphrasis in English, — 'It is surely not a difficult thing which,' etc. — 6. **admirari videmini**: not

videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est; qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas adferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus; quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam; tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius quam putassent. Primum quis coëgit eos falsum putare? qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde qui minus gravis esset eis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent, quam si octogesimum? praeterita

different from *admiramini*, *ut video*, *i.e.* 'which, I see, causes you to wonder'; cf. on *senserim*, l. 4. — 7. **in ipsis**: the Stoic doctrine that the wise man is self-sufficient, and virtue alone necessary for happiness; cf. *Parad.* 17: *nemo potest non beatissimus esse, qui . . . in se uno sua ponit omnia;* cf. *Lael.* 7. — 10. **Quo in genere**: 'to this class belongs.' — 11. **eandem**: more expressive than an adversative. Age, so differently judged, is in itself the same as before; cf. 52, 10; 68, 6. — 12. **adeptam**: passive; cf. 59, 17: *dimensa;* 74, 3: *meditatum*. Cf. App. — 13. **Obrepere**: cf. Seneca, *Brev. Vitae*, 9, 4: *subito in illam* [*senectutem*] *necopinantes inciderunt. Accedere eam cotidie non sentiebant;* with the comparison of life to a journey shortened by reading, conversation, or reflection. — 14. **Primum . . . Deinde**: the objection is first shown to be false, then granted for the sake of argument, that its absurdity may be proved, even in the case of a life ten times its present length. — 14. **qui**: 'how?' originally a form of the abl. or loc. of the interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronouns, used indiscriminately for all genders and either number; *e.g. quicum* equivalent to *quocum*, *Rabir. perd.* 22; for *quacum*, Ter., *Ad.* 477, 750; for *quibuscum*, Plaut., *Capt.* 1003; *qui* for *qua*, Ter., *Andr.* 408. — 15. **adulescentiae**: when the stages of life were exactly reckoned as periods of fifteen years, *adulescentia* was from 15–30, *iuventus* 30–45, *aetas seniorum* 45–60, *senectus* 60 and above. To strain a point, Cicero here counts *iuventus* with *adulescentia*, and *aetas seniorum* with *senectus*. — 17. **praeterita**: for emphasis the idea is repeated deliberately in

enim aetas quamvis longa cum effluxisset, nulla consolatio permulcere posset stultam senectutem.

5. Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis (quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine!), in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poëta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferendum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis, nisi naturae repugnare?

*effluxisset.* — 18. **cum effluxisset**: the clause is not temporal, but conditional, for the *cum*-clause is in many cases a recognized substitute for the *si*-clause (cf. L. 1859 *fin.*; G. 583); 'supposing that . . . were once past and gone, then, . . .'

5. 2. **esset**: cf. on 32, 2. — 2. **cognomine**: he was called *Sapiens*. — 3. **naturam . . . sequimur**: Cato's hard-headed common sense reached much the same conclusion as the Stoics, in this fundamental doctrine of that school. — 5. **cum**: 'while,' 'whereas'; not causal. — 5. **partes**: of a play, usually 'rôle,' but here 'portions,' 'divisions,' 'acts,' to avoid repeating *actus*; cf. on 64, 9. — 5. **discriptae**: to be distinguished from *descriptae*. The point here is not composition, but disposition. — 6. **actum**: *actus* is the classical word for *act* in a play, a division of less importance, however, than on the modern stage; correspondingly *actio* is 'scene' (cf. *ad Fam.* 5, 12, 6). In the latter sense *scaena* seems to occur first in Donatus (fourth century); cf. on 64, 9. — 6. **inerti**: according to the etymology, *in* + *ars*. — 9. **vietum**: the word was applied by Terence to a wrinkled old man: *vietus vĕtus veternosŭs senex* (*Eun.* 688), and was used of withered and shrivelled fruits, of shrunken and withered limbs (Horace, *Epod.* 12, 7). — 10. **Quid est enim**: the form of the question is a frequent one in Cicero, wherever he wishes to show that A is nothing more nor less than B. As compared with English, the order is inverted, and the question put:

6. *Laelius.* Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

*Cato.* Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

*Laelius.* Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

III. 7. *Cato.* Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim

"What (else) is B, if A is not?" B in this case is attacking the gods, as the giants did, while A is resistance to Nature. To resist Nature is to fight against the gods, giant-fashion, with all its impiety, its absurdity, its certainty of defeat. For another interpretation, cf. App.

6. **Atqui**: 'Yes, but,' admitting the truth of what Cato has said, but inviting a fuller discussion. — 2. **feceris . . . didicerimus**: the fut. perf. in both clauses is regular in the polite formula, *gratum* (*gratissimum*, etc.) *feceris, si*. . . . — 3. **fieri**: the fut. would be expected, if *volumus* had not been inserted to correct *speramus*. — 4. **rationibus**: 'methods,' 'means.' — 7. **futurum est**: related to *erit* as 'is to be' to 'will be,' as present anticipation to mere futurity. — 8. **nisi molestum est**: a formula of politeness, instead of *sodes*, etc. 9. **longam . . . viam**: Cicero had in mind Plato, *Rep.* 328 E, though the point with Socrates, is to inquire about the character of the road leading to old age, while here attention is drawn to the destination only. — 9. **quam . . . ingrediendum sit**: archaic for the classical personal construction; H. 621, 3; L. 2247; A. 294, *c*; G. 427, n. 2; R. 1398. One other example is quoted from Cicero: *obliviscendum . . . scelera* (*pro Scauro*, 13; cf. App.), in that case to avoid a string of genitives. There is no reason for suspecting a desire to use an old-fashioned expression; cf. Intr., § 21. That Cato himself avoided the construction, is an unsafe inference from the fact that it does not occur in his extant works; for Lucretius and Varro used it freely. — 10. **istuc . . . videre quale sit**: a form of indirect question, very common in conversation.

7. **enim**: Cato's readiness to begin a formal discussion of old

interfui querellis aequalium meorum (pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur), quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab eis a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est

age is due to his experience of the world, and the mistaken views it often holds. — 2. **pares**: the proverb also has the form *similes similibus coniungi solent*, *similibus similia gaudent*, and others; but the idea is as old as the *Odyssey*, 17, 218. — 3. **quae . . . deplorare solebant**: to recall (after the parenthesis) the thought expressed in *Saepe . . . querellis*; *quae* is acc. of the inner object; H. 409, 1; L. 1144; A. 238, *b*; G. 333, 1, n. 2; B. 176, 2. Even without the parenthesis the anacoluthon would probably have occurred, for continuing with *quas*, one encounters the difficulty that there is no phrase in common use in which *querella* (or a pron. to which it is antecedent) is made the object of a verb of uttering or expressing. — 5. **quod . . . carerent . . . spernerentur**: the reason is stated on their authority. In many cases it would be *carere se dicerent*; cf. on *senserim*, 4, 4. — 6. **nullam**: cf. *ad Fam.* 7, 1, 4: *hoc tempore vita nullast*, *i.e.* 'no sort of a life.' Also of persons, as Ter., *Phorm.* 942: *Nullus sum*, 'am done for.' — 7. **Qui**: *i.e. Sed hi*. — 8. **videbantur**: both were long since dead at the time of the dialogue. — 9. **id**: under the influence of *id* in l. 8, whereas in *eadem* he is brought back to the *two* grounds of complaint, *voluptatibus carere* and *sperni*. — 10. **quorum**: depending on *multorum*. — 11. **sine querella**: 'uncomplaining.' Attributive phrases with prepositions are not very common, except with *cum* and *sine* (cf. 40, 2: *cum hostibus . . . colloquia*), or when the order of words shows the attributive relation. — 13. **moribus**: Latin had no special word for 'character,' but employed usually *mores* (always in the plural); much

culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8. *Laelius.* Est ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere.

*Cato.* Est istud quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia. Vt Themistocles fertur Seriphio cui-

less frequently *animus*, *ingenium*, *natura*, *indoles*, *habitus*, words which required a definite context to give them this meaning. This sentence serves Cato as a text for the whole of the discourse which follows. — 14. **Moderati**: those who have shown temperance and self-control in their pleasures will not complain when the latter cease. — 14. **et nec . . . nec**: the sentence is carefully articulated to show that as the charge *voluptatibus carere* is robbed of its force by the example of the *moderati*, so also is the *sperni* by the experience of men for whom natural temperament (cf. *difficiles*) or breeding (cf. *inhumani*) have averted that danger. Cf. Horace, *Od.* 1, 31, 17 ff.: *et . . . et* (*ac?*) . . . *nec* . . . *nec*. — 14. **difficiles**: of men naturally hard to please or to deal with. — 15. **inhumani**: of men who through defect of training are unfriendly, or unmannerly. With these two adjectives correspond the abstract nouns in ll. 15–16, while the thought in *moderati* is not reiterated in the abstract form. — 16. **molesta est**: 'make trouble for.'

8. **Est**: referring, not to *molesta est*, but to Cato's principal contention in § 7, viz. *in moribus est culpa, non in aetate*. — 2. **opes**: here 'influence,' especially frequent of political influence. — 5. **istud**: 2d pers., *i.e.* 'what you say'; in English 'in that' does duty here for both *istud* and *in isto* (6). In the latter the neuter in an oblique case is permitted owing to the proximity of *istud*. — 5. **quidem**: logically it should follow *aliquid*, not *istud*; but the word here, as usually, when followed up by an adversative clause, shows its preference for the demonstrative, — the point, in other words, where a gesture of concession would be made; cf. on 65, 4. — 6. **fertur**: the story was an old one, and had suffered some changes in retelling. Thus the island referred to in Herod. 8, 125

dam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua, sed patriae gloria splendorem adsecutum: 'Nec hercule,' inquit, 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses.' Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis.

9. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis (quamquam id quidem maximum est), verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est.

was the still smaller Belbina (off Sunium). Cicero seems to have known only Plato's version (*Rep.* 329 E). — **6. Seriphio**: Serīphos, a small island, one of the Cyclades, was a by-word for its insignificance. In *N. D.* 1, 88 it is used as a type of limitation. — **10. Quod**: *i.e.* a similar retort can easily be put in the mouth of a rich old man who is taunted by a poor old man, — *e.g.*, *Nec hercule si ego pauper essem, nec tu si dives, senectutem sapienter ferres*. Riches are a help to contentment, but do not insure it; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 330 A.

**9. Aptissima**: instead of a comparative, 'better than wealth,' a strong superlative is used. — **1. omnino**: 'by all means,' 'unquestionably.' — **1. arma senectutis**: not to keep off old age (objective gen.), but to be used by old age (subjective). — **2. artes**: not 'liberal arts,' but in the special sense of 'theory' or 'principles' (*ratio*, or *praecepta*), in contrast with *exercitationes*, 'practice'; cf. App. — **2. virtutum**: common to both of the nouns preceding. The Latin distinguishes the several virtues, each of which is studied and practised separately. — **3. multum**: of the eventful life, fruitful in achievements. — **3. vixeris**: indef. subject, and the regular subjunctive; cf. 72, 3; H. 602, 4; L. 1859; A. 309, *a*; G. 580. — **3. fructus**: a sudden change of figure from *arma*, suggested by *cultae*, l. 3. — **5. maximum**: not a true superlative. — **6. bene actae vitae**: all the emphasis is upon the active side of

IV. **10.** Ego Q. Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit, senem adulescens ita dilexi ut aequalem; erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum, quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum

life, showing that in *artes*, l. 2, the sense of 'liberal arts,' 'learning,' or 'learned occupations' would be out of place here.

**10. Ego**: to call attention to an example known to the speaker of a *bene acta vita* and its *multa bene facta*. But Cato is represented as unable to mention Fabius without wandering from his proper subject into personal reminiscences, which have little to do with the subject, but serve to give an air of reality to Cicero's portrait of the old censor. — 1. **Tarentum**: in 209 B.C.; Hannibal had held it since 212. — 2. **senem adulescens**: juxtaposition, a favorite device with Greek and Roman writers, both when the words contrast, as here, and when they are only different forms of the same word, or very closely related, *e.g.* *alius alium*, or Lucretius's *casta inceste* (1, 98), or Suetonius's *dimisit, invitus invitam* (*Titus*, 7). — 3. **condīta**: not *condĭta*. — 4. **quamquam**: cf. on 1, 7. — 4. **admodum**: the English phrase 'to a degree' helps to show how *admodum* takes on the meanings 'very,' 'quite,' 'fully'; with a subst., below l. 10; cf. 30, 2; 46, 3. — 5. **Anno**: 'a year,' 'one year'; not 'in the year after,' which would be *primo anno*; cf. 19, 4. The date is 233 B.C. — 7. **quartum**: 214 B.C. — 7. **adulescentulus**: in apposition with the subj., while *miles* is predicate. He was then in his twenty-first year. — 7. **ad Capuam**: Capua being in the hands of the enemy, it was impossible for Fabius to do more than *approach* the city; hence the prep. So *ad Tarentum*, l. 8, with the difference that his operations ended in the recapture of the city. — 9. **quadriennio**: his quaestorship falls in the year 204. — 10. **cum quidem ille**: 'the year, by the way, in which.' On this use of a clause with *cum* and the indic., following the main clause,

senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exsultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

*Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.*
*Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem;*
*Ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.*

11. Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido

cf. L. 1868. — 11. **legis Cinciae**: the *lex Cincia muneralis*, proposed by a brother of the historian L. Cincius Alimentus, forbade all gifts exceeding a fixed value, except between near relatives, and a few other persons, as specified in the law. The purpose of this plebiscite was to release the poorer classes from paying a kind of tribute in the form of gifts to the richer (so Cato in a speech in Livy, 34, 4, 9). Advocates were either expressly forbidden to accept fees, or by implication, from their omission in the list of exceptions. Most of the references to the law have to do with legal fees. — 13. **patientia**: much stronger than our word. — 14. **de quo praeclare**: omission of the verb of saying before a quotation from a poet is very common. — 15. **Vnus**: these were very well-known lines of Ennius, and the first of them became proverbial (cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, p. 101); cf. App. — 15. **rem**: *rem publicam*, as *res Romana* is *res publica Romanorum*. — 16. **Noenum**: an old negative; the derivation is not certain, but probably it represents *ne-oinom* or (later) *ne-oenum*, *neunum*, 'not a thing,' 'naught'; cf. App. — 16. **rumores**: slanderous reports of his supposed cowardice. Feeling at Rome ran high against Fabius, especially in his dictatorship, 217. — 16. **ponebāt**: cf. on *versāt*, 1, 2. — 17. **plusque magisque**: Ennius probably did not make the usual distinction between these words, viz. that *plus* : *multum* : : *magis* : *magnopere*. Cf. App.

**11.** 2. **cum quidem**: with indic. (*inquit*); cf. on 10, 10; in English, 'It was at that time, by the way.' This makes Tarentum the scene of the story, not Rome in the next year (208), as Livy has it (*l.c.* infra). In Livy the retort was made in the senate, of which Cato was not yet a member. — 2. **Salinatori**: for the confusion of Salinator with his relative Macatus.

fuerat in arce, glorianti atque ita dicenti: 'Mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti,' 'Certe,' inquit ridens, 'nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem.' Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga; qui consul iterum Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti; augurque cum esset, dicere ausus

cf. Index of Persons. — 4. **nisi tu**: cf. Livy, 27, 25, 5: *adiecit tamen* [*Fabius*] *fateri se opera Livi* [i.e. *Macati*] *Tarentum receptum, quod amici eius vulgo in senatu iactassent, neque enim recipiendum fuisse, nisi amissum foret.* — 6. **qui**: examples of Fabius's conspicuous position in civil life (*in toga*) follow in the form of simple relative clauses, not (as often) of characteristic clauses. — 6. **consul iterum**: a mistake of Cicero's in making the second consulship of Fabius (228) coincide with the tribuneship of Flaminius (232, as is known from Polybius). — 7. **quiescente**: of political neutrality in the heated strife of the classes. — 7. **Flaminio**: the *lex Flaminia* was the first agrarian law to be passed, and was later regarded by the men of the Scipionic circle (including Polybius, 2, 21, 8) as the beginning of the downward course of the Roman people. The *lex Icilia*, 456 B.C., and the Licinian laws of 367 had dealt with land questions, but were not strictly agrarian measures; cf. Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, §§ 29, 36. — 7. **quoad potuit**: because consuls and senators were unable to resist the will of the plebeian assembly (*concilium plebis*; cf. Abbott, §§ 315 ff., 320; *de Inv.* 2, 52). — 8. **Gallicum**: the Gallic Senones had been expelled from their country, along the Adriatic between Ancona and Ariminum, more than fifty years before, and colonies established. It was now a question of lands not previously assigned. — 8. **viritim**: *i.e.* not to new colonies, but to individuals. — 8. **contra**: cf. *de Inv. l.c.*: *invito senatu et omnino contra voluntatem omnium optimatium per seditionem ad populum legem agrariam ferebat.* — 9. **dividenti**: conative; the imperf. indic. of attempted action replaced by the pres. ptcp.; cf. 54, 5. — 9. **augur**: as such he might have been conservative, but in his radical views of augury he almost rivals Flaminius, whose neglect of omens was scandalous. Fabius was said to have been augur for the incredible number of sixty-two or sixty-three

est optimis auspiciis ea geri quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur; quae contra rem publicam ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri.

**12.** Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi; sed nihil admirabilius quam quo modo ille mortem fili tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo, quae praecepta, quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris augurii! Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae; omnia memoria tenebat

years; cf. Livy, 30, 26, 7; Pliny, *N. H.* 7, 156. — **10. geri**: general, of any actions or measures. — **12. ferri**: particular, of laws proposed.

**12. 2. fili**: in the consulship of his son (213) Fabius had acted as his legatus; cf. Livy, 24, 44, 9. — **2. tulit**: Cicero in his lost *Consolatio* had cited Fabius, Aemilius Paulus (cf. 68, 4: *fratribus*, and note), and Cato himself (68, 84) as examples of fortitude in fathers who survived their sons, — to the ancients a monstrous reversal of the order of nature; cf. on 84, 14; *T. D.* 3, 70; *ad Fam.* 4, 6, 1. — **3. in manibus**: the phrase has three different meanings: (1) of an author's own works, 'have in hand' (*habere* or *esse*), or 'be engaged upon' (cf. 22, 11; 38, 7); (2) (with *esse*) 'be at hand,' 'accessible,' 'in circulation,' as here (cf. *Lael.* 96); (3) 'close at hand,' 'before one,' 'present.' — **3. laudatio**: sc. *funebris*; the eulogy, which was commonly delivered by a member of the family, and preserved in the family archives, to the confusion of historians who tried to discover the plain truth. — **3. quam cum**: cf. on *cui qui*, 2, 10. — **4. contemnimus**: on Cato's general opinion of *philosophi*, cf. Intr., § 19. — **5. intus domique**: a single idea, the former word more closely defined by the latter; *-que* is 'that is to say,' as often; so *atque* also, *e.g. de Fin.* 1, 34; Livy, 22, 6, 12. — **7. scientia**: but according to 11, 10 ff. he was not a stickler for technicalities, in spite of his abundant knowledge. — **8. ut**: 'for a Roman'; the common restrictive use of *ut*. In the full form an *ita* perhaps preceded; at least the logical relation is the same as in a sentence with *ita . . . ut*. No verb is to be supplied; cf. L. 1942. — **8. litterae**: 'learning,' in the

non domestica solum, sed etiam externa [bella]. Cuius sermone ita cupide fruebar, quasi iam tum divinarem, id quod evenit, illo exstincto fore unde discerem neminem.

V. 13. Quorsum igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestres navalesve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida

broadest sense. — 8. **memoria**: abl. of means, of the power by which the mind retains; never *in memoria tenere*, as the place or seat of such power. — 9. **domestica . . . externa**: subst., of history in general; cf. 20, 3. For the text, cf. App. — 10. **ita**: correlative with *quasi*. — 11. **unde**: personal, *i.e.* *a quo*, a use in which *unde* is more frequently found than any of the other relative and demonstrative adverbs; cf. H. 510, 11; L. 1793; G. 611, R. 1.

**13. haec tam multa**: no verb need be supplied, though *haec multa* is acc., as the object to which thought is directed. — 2. **profecto videtis**: instead of answering, 'Because I wished to prove that,' Cato says, by an easy anticipation, 'Because you surely see that. . . .' — 2. **fuisse**: depending upon *dictu*, for this supine is sometimes (rarely) followed by a subordinate clause, *i.e.* a quotation or indirect question; cf. L. 2275. — 3. **Scipiones**: 'such men as Scipio' (suggested by the mention of Fabius's last years); cf. 15, 12. On Cato's real attitude towards Africanus, cf. Intr., § 18. — 4. **expugnationes**: Cato had himself captured many cities in Spain; cf. Intr., § 26. — 4. **pedestres**: in contrast with *navales*, not with an unexpressed *equestres*. — 6. **pure atque eleganter**: form a pair joined by *et* to *quiete*; cf. *et nec . . . nec*, 7, 14. That *pure* should be thus united to *eleganter* is not without a reason. In Cato's time *elegans* and *eleganter* had a disparaging sense, — were in fact terms of reproach for fastidious extravagance and undue luxury. By Cicero's time the bad meaning had almost disappeared, but the words were guardedly used. So here, lest *eleganter* should be taken in the worse sense, it is joined with *pure*, which with its idea of moral cleanness, fixes the wavering meaning of *eleganter*. Together they denote a life with moral fibre beneath the outward graces. Good

ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus, qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum qui Panathenaicus inscribitur quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit, vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos, neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur, cur tam diu vellet esse in vita: 'Nihil habeo,' inquit, 'quod accusem senectutem.' Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum!

**14.** Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senec-

taste or discrimination is here suggested by *eleganter* (*e-legere*), — a quality conspicuously absent from Cato himself. Cf. Intr., §§ 14 and 21 n. 1. Livy has *ob eleganter actam vitam* as a complimentary expression, 35, 31, 14. — 7. **accepimus**: of a tradition, as usual; another reported his death at a marriage feast. — 7. **uno et octogesimo**: this combination of cardinal *unus* with an ordinal (as *vicesimus*, *tricesimus*) was more generally used than *primus et vicesimus*, and the like. In feminine forms *una* is reduced to *un-*. Cf. Neue, 2[3] (1892), p. 318. — 8. **scribens**: *i.e.* still active with his pen; not literally 'with pen in hand.' — 9. **Panathenaicus**: extant, — an oration (*liber*) in praise of Athens and Attica, 339 B.C. — 12. **neque umquam**: 'without ever relaxing'; cf. 53, 5. 'Without' followed by a verbal noun is rarely expressed by *sine* and a verbal in *-tio*. Here, however, *sine ulla cessatione* would have been possible; cf. Livy, 22, 60, 6. But with gerund or gerundive *sine* is found in Varro alone among classical writers (*de Ling. Lat.* 6, 75: *nec sine canendo tibicines*; cf. L. 2267; G. 433, n. 2; M. 416, o. 3). — 13. **Qui, cum**: cf. on 2, 10: *cui qui*. — 14. **esse in vita**: suicide is not hinted at, since there is no motive for it. — 14. **Nihil habeo . . . quod accusem**: the subjunctive in this phrase, as in *nihil est quod*, is usually classified with clauses of characteristic or tendency; cf. L. 1822; G. 631, 2 (potential, H. 591, 4). — 15. **Praeclarum responsum**: may be considered to be in apposition with the preceding quotation, but a Roman might have felt it as an exclamation pure and simple. — 15. **docto**: of the highly cultivated man who has added philosophical training to scholarship.

**14. suam culpam in senectutem**: cf. 7, 13: *in moribus est*

tutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

*Sicut fortis equos, spatio qui saepe supremo*
*Vicit Olumpia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.*

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem quidem probe meminisse potestis; anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt, ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem.

*culpa, non in aetate.* — 3. **Ennius**: in the *Annales.* — 4. **equos**: nom.; the old age of the horse and that of the eagle were proverbial; cf. Silius Italicus, 16, 331 f., in a description of a chariot race: —

*sunt cruda senectus*
*Quos iuvet et longo sonipes spectatus in aevo.*

— 4. **spatio**: the race around the Greek hippodrome or Roman circus included seven 'laps' or spatia. Vergil uses the plural in this sense, *Georg.* 1, 513 and *Aen.* 5, 325; the singular with *extremum* (*Aen.* 5, 327) or *supremum* (as here) denotes at once the last lap and the end of the course. In 83, 11: *decurso spatio*, the whole course is meant. — 5. **Vicit Olumpia**: simply transferring into Latin the Greek phrase with cognate acc., νικᾶν Ὀλύμπια; cf. *coronari . . . Olympia*, Horace, *Epist.* 1, 1, 50. — 5. **confectus**: cf. on 1, 1 (6). — 6. **victoris**: 'victorious'; the attributive use of a noun, to be distinguished from real apposition (which does not take the place of an adj.); cf. H. 495, 3; L. 1042, 1045; A. 88, *c.* — 6. **Quem**: acc. of direct personal recollection; cf. L. 1288. — 8. **hi**: 'the present' or 'our present.' This gives the reader the year (150) of the dialogue; cf. Intr., § 3. — 10. **cum**: the clause is circumstantial, not temporal; cf. App. on l. 11. — 11. **legem Voconiam**: proposed by the tribune Voconius, to prevent women from inheriting fortunes, which would thus pass to the families of their husbands. No testator of the first Servian class (one hundred thousand asses, later sesterces) could name any woman heir. By legacies and later by trusts, also by a defective census, the law was evaded. Livy put the law five years earlier, 174 (*per.* 41). — 11. **lateribus**: *i.e.*

Annos septuaginta natus (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

**15.** Etenim cum complector animo, quattuor reperio causas cur senectus misera videatur, unam quod avocet a rebus gerendis, alteram quod corpus faciat infirmius, tertiam quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus, quartam quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque, videamus.

'lungs.' — 11. **suasissem**: cf. *suasor legis Cinciae*, 10, 11; Cato was always in favor of measures to restrict luxury, especially among women; cf. Intr., § 26. A fragment of this speech remains (Gellius, 17, 6, 1). The oration was extant in the time of Livy's epitomator (*per.* 41), *i.e.* perhaps in the fourth century. — 13. **maxima . . . onera, paupertatem et senectutem**: a proverb; Otto, *op. cit.* p. 269.

**15. Etenim**: 'and in fact,' 'and indeed' (not 'for') from the older affirmative, rather than from the inferential, meaning of *enim.* The word is very frequently used by Cicero, not to introduce proof of what has just been said, but to add another argument on the general question under discussion, just as *porro* and *praeterea* are used; hence, appropriate to the beginning of a fuller discussion of the theme, and the transition from the introduction to the argument proper. — 1. **complector**: the unexpressed object is the whole question of age and its burdens. — 2. **unam . . . alteram . . . tertiam**: where the total number of heads had been first stated (*quattuor*), it was customary in the enumeration to use *unus* in place of *primus*, and *alter* for *secundus*; cf. *T. D.* 3, 47; 5, 68; Livy, 8, 12, 14; Krebs, *Antibarbarus*,[6] 2, p. 345. — 2. **avocet . . . faciat**: the mood in itself suggests that a refutation of these arguments of others is to be looked for from Cato. — 3. **rebus**: *i.e.* from activity in general, but especially — as was natural for a Roman — from cares of state and command in the field. In reality Cicero feels keenly the contrast between his own present retirement and the time when he held the *gubernacula rei publicae* (*de Div.* 2, 3). — 4. **fere** usually follows the word it qualifies, especially if a negative, a numeral, or *omnis*. — 6. **quanta**: *i.e.* Cato will take the measure of each argu-

I

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibus? an eis quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? nullaene igitur res sunt seniles, quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus, nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri, fili mei? ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant?

16. Ad Appi Claudi senectutem accedebat etiam ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad

ment. — 7. **abstrahit**: the indic. here takes the place of the subjv. (*avocet*, 15, 2), not because the truth of the assertion is granted, but because it stands as a thesis, against which the argument is to be directed. Each of the four heads of the discussion has its own form of introduction; cf. §§ 27, 39, 66. — 7. **Quibus?** *i.e. A quibus?* but the regular practice is *not* to repeat a preposition with a relative or interrogative, where the same verb is expressed or implied. — 7. **an eis**: one of the forms of refutation, consisting of a question which forces an antagonist to modify his sweeping statement, in view of the untenable position suggested between the lines in the implied alternative *utrum omnibus*. The omission of *ab* is natural after *Quibus*. — 9. **vel**: 'if you please' (*volo*), 'even.' — 9. **infirmis corporibus**: in contrast with *iuventute . . . et viribus*, but with a change of construction. — 10. **nihil . . . nihil agebant**: note the chiasmus, which brings the period to a close with the same words (l. 13); also the effective repetition of *nihil*. — 11. **fili mei**: cf. Index of Persons, *s.v.* Porcius. — 12. **Fabricii**: cf. on *Scipiones*, 13, 3; the conventional group of *three* examples, in this case types often cited of the Roman of the old school, unspoiled by Greek culture, uncontaminated by foreign conquest, — as such dear to the heart of Cato. — 12. **cum . . . defendebant, nihil agebant**: 'all the time that they were . . .'; *cum* with imperf. indic. in both clauses, where one continued action lasts just as long as another continued action; cf. L. 1864.

16. **accedebat**: an addition or, as here, an aggravation, is often expressed by *accedit* and a clause.

pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

*Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant*
*Antehac, dementis sese flexere viai?*

ceteraque gravissime; notum enim vobis carmen est; et tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septimo decimo anno post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent censorque ante supe-

—3. **pacem**: cf. Val. Max. 8, 13, 5: *Quin etiam fessus iam vivendo lectica se in curiam deferri iussit, ut cum Pyrrho deformem pacem fieri prohiberet.* An excellent parallel would have been the blind old Timoleon, of whom Nepos says: *Veniebat autem in theatrum* (*i.e.* of Syracuse), *cum ibi concilium populi haberetur, propter valetudinem vectus iumentis iunctis, atque ita de vehiculo, quae videbantur, dicebat* (*Tim.* 4, 2). — 4. **persecutus est**: 'has set forth.' In this particular case the translation 'has reproduced' would be more precise, for Ennius undoubtedly had the text of Appius's speech before him. — 5. **mentes . . . dementis**: 'senses . . . now senseless'; besides the oxymoron, force is added by placing the two words in corresponding emphatic positions, before the caesura, and before and after a parenthetical clause. — 6. **Antehac**: dissyllabic, either by synizesis, or by elision of *e* (*ant'hac*). — 6. **dementis**: nom., the rare early form. —6. **viāī**: old gen. (trisyllabic) with *Quo*, as in *ubi terrarum?* — 7. **enim**: elliptical; 'no need to quote more, for,' etc.; cf. on 36, 5. — 7. **carmen**: *locus* ('passage') would be expected, but a contrast with *oratio* is desired. — 7. **et tamen**: 'and for that matter.' — 8. **oratio**: this must have been in a very quaint style, — dry and juiceless reading for Cicero, as is clear from *Brutus*, 61, but historically of importance as the very beginning of Latin prose, and so far in advance of the time that Roman literature is not considered to have had any prose until Cato appeared; cf. Intr., §§ 34, 36. — 9. **cum . . . interfuissent . . . fuisset**: the *cum*-clauses have no other office here than to take the place of missing perfect participles; *i.e.* the thought is merely 'having been consul for the first time ten years earlier, and censor even before that.' Cf. Hale, *Cum-Konstruktionen*, pp. 222–223, 229; cf. on 30, 5; 41, 14. — 10. **ante superiorem consulatum**: contrary to the usual practice, by which ex-consuls only were chosen

riorem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse; et tamen sic a patribus accepimus.

**17.** Nihil igitur adferunt qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille autem clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi. Ne faciat ea quae iuvenes, at vero multo maiora et meliora facit. Non

to the censor's office. But Appius Claudius was in every way a most exceptional man. — 12. **et tamen**: with the same force as in l. 7; *i.e.* putting aside our calculations, we have *still* the evidence of tradition; cf. Munro on Lucr. 1, 1050. — 12. **sic**: referring back to *grandem sane fuisse*. It cannot refer, in a more general way, to his influence on public policy, for that was sufficiently attested by the publication and preservation of the speech.

**17. in re gerenda**: it is of public life and state affairs that Cato is thinking almost exclusively; cf. the figure of the pilot, suggesting the ship of state. Plutarch wrote on the question *An seni sit res publica gerenda*, — if we may cite a Greek essay by its Latin title. — 2. **similesque . . . ut si qui**: *ut si* with pres. or perf. subjv. is one of the regular forms for the imaginary illustration. But the *exemplum fictum* is often at the same time a simile; hence *similes* in the text, and *similiter* in the following example (in a quotation): *similiter facere . . . ut si nautae certarent, quis eorum potissimum gubernaret* (*de Off.* 1, 87; cf. *T. D.* 4, 41). The combination *similis ut si* is, however, very rare. — 3. **nihil agere**: *i.e.* 'is of no importance'; cf. 15, 10. — 4. **foros**: *fori* on shipboard were narrow gangways, extending fore and aft, close to the sides of the ship, — distinct from the deck (*pons*). — 4. **exhauriant**: the pump was invented about the time of Cato by Ctesibius of Alexandria, and no doubt used on shipboard. The ship is under sail, hence no mention is made of the oarsmen. — 4. **clavum**: 'tiller'; though the ancient ship did not have a rudder. Instead two large steering-oars were so rigged as to work together. Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 568, Müller: —

*Dum clavom rectum teneam navemque gubernem.*

— 5. **Ne faciat**: sc. *senectus*; a formula of concession, followed by *certe*, *at*, *at vero*, etc.; cf. 34, 9; or affirmatively, 84, 2; cf. App. —

viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet.

**18.** Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero; at senatui, quae sint gerenda, praescribo, quo modo Karthagini male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio; de qua vereri non ante desinam, quam illam excisam esse cognovero.

**19.** Quam palmam utinam di inmortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare! cuius a morte sextus hic et tricesimus annus est, sed memoriam illius viri omnes

7. **viribus . . . velocitate . . . celeritate**: Cicero still has in mind the occupations of the crew, for these ablatives correspond (with inversion) to *scandant*, *cursent*, *exhauriant*. — 8. **quibus**: as the Latin used the abl. both with verbs of separation (*orbari*), and with verbs of abounding (*augeri*), it was easy to let one abl. serve for both. For the abl. with *augere*, cf. the familiar phrase in announcing the birth of a child, *filiolo me auctum scito* (*ad Att.* 1, 2, 1).

**18. Nisi forte**: cf. on 33, 9. — 1. **miles**: 'private'; cf. Intr., § 22. — 1. **tribunus**: to this office an election by the *comitia tributa* was ordinarily necessary; cf. Intr., § 23. — 2. **consul**: cf. Intr., § 26. — 2. **in vario genere bellorum**: little more than 'in various wars,' with no special emphasis upon differences of kind, for to Cato their diversity was largely the result of his different ranks. — 2. **cessare**: cf. *nihil agere*, 17, 3; *cessavit*, 13, 13. — 3. **at**: corresponding to *at vero* of 17, 6. — 5. **bellum**: the Third Punic War. — 5. **denuntio**: cf. Intr., § 32; cf. *de Off.* 1, 79, on *togati* as not less serviceable to the state than generals, for by their advice often *aut non suscepta aut confecta bella sunt, non numquam etiam inlata, ut M. Catonis* [*consilio*] *bellum tertium Punicum*. Cf. App.

**19. Quam palmam**: this is a prophecy after the event. It was four years from the time of the dialogue to the triumph of Scipio (suggested by *palmam*) over the fallen Carthage, 146. — 2. **avi reliquias**: 'the unfinished work of your grandfather'; cf. Index of Persons, *s.v.* Cornelius (Scipio Africanus). — 3. **memoriam**: on Cato's real attitude towards Scipio the Elder, cf. Intr., §§ 18, 24, 28. —

excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum.

4. **Anno ante me censorem**: *i.e.* 185; but authorities differed strangely between this date and 183. Livy while mentioning (39, 50, 10) the opinion (Polybius) that Scipio died in the same year with Hannibal and Philopoemen (183), himself decides (*ib.* 52, 1–2) in favor of 185, because in the censorship of Cato and Valerius (Intr., § 29) the latter was named *princeps senatus* to succeed Scipio, who, he argues, must therefore have been dead. — 5. **post meum consulatum**: the reckoning here (if *novem* is correct) must be from the *end* of Cato's consulship, *i.e.* 15 March, 194. — 5. **cum . . . creatus esset**: cf. on 16, 9. — 6. **ad centesimum**: by this unfortunate expression Cicero leaves the reader with the impression that Scipio (born 235) was much older than Cato, whereas the difference between their ages was not more than *one* year, and Scipio at the time of his death was little more than fifty. — 7. **paeniteret**: 'find fault with,' 'be discontented with'; imperf., because Scipio would still be living, with some fifteen years to spare before he attained *ad centesimum annum*. — 8. **Nec enim**: in translation this sentence must be introduced by a negative implied in the *num*-question preceding. *Nec* is merely correlative to *nec . . . nec*. — 8. **excursione . . . saltu**: the reference is not to actual warfare, for a Scipio, even in his youth, would have been very differently employed in war from the common soldier. Cicero has in mind drill and military exercises, especially those of the light-armed and agile *velites*, and all is consistent with the general idea of vigorous manly exercise, such as had formed the early training of Africanus, and delights the heart of youth everywhere. *Excursio* is 'skirmish-drill,' rather than the real skirmishing of the *levis armatura*. — 8. **hastis**: the *velites* continued to carry *hastae* (and *gladii*) long after the legionaries were armed with the *pilum*; cf. Livy, 26, 4, 4; 38, 20, 1; *ib.* 21, 13. — 10. **consilium**: often used where *concilium* would be expected, —

**20.** Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ei qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

*Cedo, quí vestram rem públicam tantam ámisistis tám cito?*

Sic enim percontantur V*eien*tes in Naevi poëtae Ludo; respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

*Provéniebant orátores noví, stulti adulescéntuli.*

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

regularly, in fact, when the senate is meant.

**20. 2. senes**: whereas at Rome *senatores* were distinct from *senes*, the Spartans contented themselves with the one word γέρων. — **3. externa**: *i.e.* the history or experience of other peoples. The mention of one foreign state suggests the lessons of universal history; cf. 12, 9. — **6. Cĕdo**: old imperative sing. of *dare*, 2d pers.; plural *cette* (**ce-d(i)te*). The verse is an iambic *octonarius*. — **6. qui**: cf. on 4, 14. — **6. rem publicam**: the city referred to is possibly the Etruscan Veii (Vei), only a dozen miles north of Rome. Another fragment of Naevius (from the same play, according to some) introduces Viba, a king of Veii, greeting Amulius, king of Alba Longa, — in the time, that is, of Romulus; cf. Merry, *Select Fragments*, p. 20. — **7. Veientes**: object; the subject is omitted as immaterial for the present purpose. Veii was the nearest of Rome's Etruscan rivals, and a much stronger city, at the time of its capture, 396 B.C., than Rome itself. According to Livy, 5, 1, 3, the people of Veii had abandoned aristocracy for the rule of a king in 403. Cf. App. — **7. Ludo**: *The Etruscan*, the name of a play. This was a *praetexta*, *i.e.* a national or Italian tragedy, a form of literature of which Naevius was the originator, in distinction from *tragoedia*, which was imitated from the Greek. The play may have dealt with the siege of Veii, thus glorifying Rome in the downfall of her nearest enemy. Cf. App. — **8. et alia et**: a common formula for 'among other things.' — **9. Proveniebant**: in the same metre as above, a part of the

VII. **21.** At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina; num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset, Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos, nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam

same passage. The *stulti adulescentuli* probably urged the overturning of the aristocracy and setting up of a king; cf. on l. 7.

**21. At memoria minuitur**: an anticipated objection (cf. on 28, 1; 33, 1; 35, 1; 47, 1) suggests the whole subject of the decline of mental power, and furnishes an easy transition (21–26) to physical decay, the second head in the argument. — 1. **Credo**: accepts the objection for those (and those only) who are lacking in industry or capacity. — 1. **nisi . . . exerceas**: indefinite; cf. 36, 2: *nisi . . . instilles*. — 2. **Themistocles**: on the form of the example, without introductory particle or other ceremony (since the illustration merely explains a preceding general truth), cf. 22, 5; 33, 5; 37, 1; 63, 5. — 4. **qui Aristides esset**: the clause stands as (primary) object to *salutare*. — 5. **Equidem**: 'For myself, I.' — 5. **eos**: substituted for *nomina eorum*. — 6. **avos**: cf. Intr., § 33. — 6. **sepulcra**: by metonymy for the inscriptions. Placed along the most travelled roads, Roman tombs attracted more attention to themselves and to their epitaphs than do modern cemeteries. The old custom remains in Corsica, but not in Italy or Sicily. — 7. **quod aiunt**: commonly indicates a proverb, but here merely a widespread superstition. — 7. **ne memoriam perdam**: aside from the superstition, those who are absorbed in the past become abstracted, and forgetful of present affairs. Cato is not speaking of historical memory or reminiscence. — 7. **his . . . legendis**: as a historian (Intr., § 35) Cato had need of every available source of information as to the past; cf. 38, 7: *omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo*. Among his sources were inscriptions, still largely sepulchral in his day. — 8. **quemquam senem**: 'any one who in his old age'; cf. 22, 2: *philosophi senes*; for *quisquam* is regularly a substantive, with which another substantive (here *senex*) may stand in predicate apposition. But *quisquam* is also used even in Cicero (though

senem audivi oblitum quo loco thesaurum obruisset; omnia quae curant meminerunt, vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant.

**22.** Quid iuris consulti? quid pontifices? quid augures? quid philosophi senes? quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria,

rarely) as an adjective (for *ullus*), *e.g. Verr.* 2, 17: *si cuiquam generi hominum . . . si cuiquam ordini . . . probatus sit;* cf. L. 692; M. 90, 3, o.; G. 107, 3, n. 2; Krebs, *op. cit.* 2, p. 418. — 9. **thesaurum**: to the ancient practice of burying money (usually under the house) we owe most of our coin collections. The Roman law had to concern itself with treasure trove, which it defined as *vetus quaedam depositio pecuniae, cuius non exstat memoria, ut iam dominum non habeat* (Paulus, *Dig.* 41, 1, 31, 1). A hoard often figured in the plots of comedies, as in Plautus's *Aulularia* and *Trinummus*. — **10. vadimonia constituta**: 'engagements in court'; *vadimonium* often means bail, the amount fixed (*constitutum*) by the praetor, but the word was also used where no bail or forfeit was exacted of the defendant, or even an oath, but only a simple promise to appear again. The whole matter was regulated by the edict of the praetor; cf. Gaius, 4, 184–5.

**22. Quid . . . quid**: these are not really questions (with *agunt* or *faciunt*); for in rhetorical passages *quid?* becomes a mere formula of transition to a new head, or accompanies the members of a series ('and then, and . . . too'); cf. 26, 9; 83, 1. — **1. iuris consulti**: one of the subjects of *meminerunt*, along with *pontifices*, *augures*, *philosophi*, to each of which *senes* is in predicate apposition; *iuris consulti* were jurists, not lawyers or advocates, such as Cicero and Hortensius, who often disclaimed any thorough knowledge of the law, and referred to a jurist (*e.g.* Servius Sulpicius) on knotty points. The opinions of the *iuris consulti* gradually acquired the force of law (at least in the case of those to whom the emperors gave the *ius respondendi*); cf. 27, 12. — **1. pontifices . . . augures**: memory would be required by them, in order to retain all the details of ceremonial law and practice or the intricate rules of augury. — **2. Manent**: note order and asyndeton; 'Old men do retain.' — **3. studium et industria**: corresponding inversely to the two points made in 21, viz. 'practice' (*nisi eam exerceas*, l. 1), and 'interest' (*omnia quae curant*,

neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est, ut, quem ad modum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quaesisseque num illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus.

23. Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum,

l. 9). — 4. **honoratis**: not 'honored'; the word was applied to every magistrate or ex-magistrate, but especially the latter, the *honoribus functi*; cf. 61, 11, where it is used of the *senectus* of such a man. — 5. **privata**: in contrast with *honoratis*. — 5. **quieta**: in less obvious contrast with *claris*; cf. 13, 6: *quiete*. — 5. **Sophocles**: cf. on 21, 2. — 6. **quod . . . cum**: cf. on 2, 10: *cui qui*. — 8. **nostro more**: even before the definite provision by the Laws of the Twelve Tables (450 B.C.) it had been customary at Rome to remove the prodigal and the insane from the management of property. The incompetent through age were treated as prodigals, the praetor pronouncing an interdict beginning, *Quando tibi bona paterna avitaque nequitia tua disperdis liberosque tuos ad egestatem perducis* (Paulus, *Sent.* 3, 4 *a*, 7), and naming a *curator*, who could not be a *son* of the defendant (Ulpian, *Dig.* 27, 10, 1). — 9. **bonis**: abl.; H. 426, 7; A. 225, *d*, n. 1; G. 390, 2, n. 3; M. 261, *b*. — 10. **iudices**: 'jury,' not 'judges.' — 10. **fabulam**: the usual word for 'play,' whether tragedy or comedy. — 11. **in manibus**: cf. on 12, 3. The play, though complete, was still receiving the final touches. — 11. **Oedipum Colonēum**: the last part of the Oedipus story, — his atonement and death at Colonus, in the suburbs of Athens. — 12. **recitasse**: of reading in public; after the time of Cicero with special reference to public readings (*recitationes*). — 12. **carmen**: 'poem,' to avoid repeating *fabula*. — 14. **est liberatus**: *lībero* is used as a synonym for *absolvo*: 'acquit.'

**23. Homerum**: on Cato's real attitude toward poets and philosophers, cf. Intr., §§ 19–20, 34. The

Simonidem, Stesichorum, num, quos ante dixi, Isocratem, Gorgiam, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocratem, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum, coëgit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus? an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit?

24. Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiares

arrangement of the names in the following catalogue is artificial: first, poets, in two alliterative pairs, representing contrasted periods; second, rhetoricians, a pair; third, philosophers, in three groups: (*a*) a pair, representing the older philosophies; (*b*) a pair, the classical period (Academy); (*c*) a triplet, the Stoics. By the omission of Epicurus (cf. Intr., § 57) the Stoics are given all the more emphasis. — **6. obmutescere**: with reference especially to the rhetoricians and philosophers, yet not out of place for the poets. — **7. vitae aequalis fuit**: 'lasted as long as life itself.'

**24. Age**: in a transition from the more remote to the more familiar, a descent from the higher plane of intellectual pursuits to the lower of rustic occupations. It merely attracts attention to what follows, often another imperative or its equivalent, or a question. **1. divina**: on this epithet in the mouth of Cato, cf. on 23, 1. — **1. possum nominare**: the indic. is usual in such expressions; H. 525, 1; L. 1495; G. 254, R. 1; B. 271; the potential idea is in the verb itself; cf. 55, 1. This is one of the forms of *praeteritio*, the rhetorical device by which one appears to pass over a subject, but in reality does not wish it overlooked; cf. Intr., § 44; cf. 50, 6; 52, 1; 53, 11. — **2. ex agro Sabino**: the phrase is treated as an adj. and modifies *Romanos*. This use of *ex* is common; cf. *Verr.* 5, 140: *civem Romanum e conventu Panhormitano*; *ib.* 155: *civis Romanos . . . ex conventu Syracusano*; *N. D.* 1. 58: *Epicureos e Graecia*. — **2. rusticos Romanos**: Cato means neither fancy farmers nor owners of great estates in charge of overseers (*vilici*), but the hard-working and horny-handed, who cultivated their own small farms, — a class which had contributed much good material to the army and to public life. But even in Cato's time such farmers were being driven to the wall by slave-labor and the great estates.

meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in his minus hoc mirum est; nemo enim est tam senex, qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed idem in eis elaborant quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

*serít*
*Árborés, quae álterí saéculó prósiént,*

ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis.

**25**. Nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti cui serat respondere: 'Dis inmortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.'

Cf. Intr., § 43. The far-reaching results of this change were most disastrous to Rome. — **2. vicinos . . . meos**: on Cato's farm in the Sabina (then known as *Sabini*), cf. Intr., §§ 22, 24. — **3. absentibus**: though often called to Rome by political duties, they resided on the farm. — **4. serendis . . . fructibus**: the abl. of the gerundive may indicate the *time* (as here), the *cause*, or *means*, and (mostly in later Latin) the *circumstances* or *manner*, of an action or statement, and is thus the equivalent of a *while*-clause (or of a pres. ptcp.). This usage became much more frequent after Cicero, especially in Livy (cf. Riemann, *Études*, etc., pp. 308-309). It is sometimes called an abl. abs., but a true abl. abs. with the gerundive ptcp. never occurs in classical Latin; L. 2266; G. 431; M. 416, o. 1. — **5. in his**: in contrast with l. 7: *in eis . . . quae*. — **7. idem**: nominative. — **7. elaborant**: the compound is more forcible than *laboro*. — **9. serit**: the metre is the cretic tetrameter, the foot being –́ ⏑ –́. Cf. App. — **10. alteri**: 'the next'; cf. the frequent use of *alter* for *secundus*. — **10. saeculo**: the word is derived from *sero*, 'to sow,' 'plant'; but *serit . . . saeculo* was not intended as an etymological figure. — **10. prosient**: old form for *prosint*. — **11. Synephēbis**: a comedy adapted by Statius Caecilius from a Greek original, the Συνέφηβοι of Menander (b. 342 B.C.).

**25. 3. haec**: 'these lands of mine,' pointing to the farm all about him. In the same way a Roman orator frequently used *haec* for the domains of Rome, the em-

VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente quam illud idem:

*Edepól, senectus, sí nil quicquam aliúd viti*
*Adpórtes tecum, quom ádvenis, unum íd sat est,*
*Quod diú vivendo múlta quae non vólt, videt.*

Et multa fortasse quae volt! atque in ea quae non volt, saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

*Tum equidem ín senecta hoc députo misérrumum,*
*Sentíre ea aetate eúmpse esse odiosum álteri.*

Iucundum potius quam odiosum!

pire itself; cf. *Cat.* 4, 7: *haec delere*, i.e. *delere imperium*; *pro Sull.* 32; Nägelsbach, *Stilistik*[8], p. 201. — 4. **prodere**: regular in this sense of 'hand down,' 'bequeath' by direct inheritance; cf. *pro Milone*, 83: *maiorum sapientia, qui sacra, qui caerimonias, qui auspicia et ipsi sanctissime coluerunt et nobis, suis posteris, prodiderunt.* The farm has been received as it were on trust, though Cicero avoids the legal terms applied to a trust (*depositum*, *commodatum*, and *precarium*, to which the verb is not *prodo*, but *reddo* or *restituo*). — 6. **illud**: looking forward to the quotation, as usual; cf. l. 11. — 6. **īdem**: sc. *ait;* the mention of Statius (Caecilius) suggests two other utterances of the same poet, which bear on the general subject of old age, but are not strictly in place at this point of the argument. Without waiting for a more suitable context, Cato digresses far enough to convict Caecilius of error. The verses in both cases are iambic *senarii.* An old man complains, as often on the Roman stage, of the burden of his years. — 7. **nil quicquam**: old Latin; cf. L. 2402. — 8. **adportes . . . est**: future general condition, of a form much more frequent where the second person of the protasis is indefinite. — 9. **videt**: sc. *senex* from *senectus* (cf. in the next quotation: *in senecta . . . eumpse*); but the transition to the person was already suggested in *vivendo*, which takes the place of a *dum*-clause or pres. ptcp.; cf. on 24, 4. With an indefinite subject in the singular the second person is usually preferred to the third, which is, however, very common in old laws. — 10. **Et multa**: as though Cato were replying directly to Caecilius; cf. 27, 8: *Non vero.* — 14. **eumpse**: several

**26.** Vt enim adulescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur leviorque fit senectus eorum qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur; nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addi-

case-forms of this old, but natural, form for *ipsum* exist in the singular; *eaepse* is the only certain form in the plural (Plaut., *Pseud.* 833). — 14. **alteri**: 'one's neighbor,' *i.e.* others in general, most of whom would be younger than the *senex* himself, *eumpse;* hence the direction given to the refutation in 26, 1: *adulescentibus . . . senes; alteri* might be taken with an unexpressed *aetati* in contrast with *ea aetate*, but the latter does not show the emphasis which would be natural if Caecilius meant explicitly to contrast age with youth. Cf. App. — 15. **Iucundum**: as in 25, 10: *Et multa fortasse*, the refutation immediately follows the quotation censured, and falls in with its construction.

**26. indole**: indicates here the promise of future *sapientia*. — 1. **sapientes**: the chiastic order (*adulescentibus . . . praeditis, sapientes senes*) shows that the word is here meant as a simple attribute; not 'wise men when they are old.' — 2. **leviorque**: for the figure, cf. 4, 5: *onus . . . Aetna gravius*. — 3. **coluntur**: of outward expression, as *diliguntur* is of inward feeling. — 4. **virtutum studia**: practical, not theoretical. — 5. **esse iucundos**: cf. on 1, 12. — 6. **ut**: 'how'; cf. 31, 1. — 7. **agens aliquid et moliens**: ptcpp. treated as adjj., and forming part of the pred.; *moliens* involves no mere activity (*agens*), but implies new undertakings — fresh endeavor, not habitual occupations. — 8. **superiore**: on the temporal sense, cf. *inferior*, in *ad Q. Fr.* 3, 5 and 6, 2: *quod erant inferiores quam illorum aetas*. — 9. **Quid**: cf. on 22, 1. — 10. **gloriantem**: ptcp. in place of infin., to emphasize a condition, rather than an act. — 10. **se cotidie**: cf. 50, 17; the verse ran: —

γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.

It had become proverbial (Hiller,

scentem dicit senem fieri, et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici; quas quidem sic avide adripui quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud (discebant enim fidibus antiqui), sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

## II

IX. **27.** Nec nunc quidem vires desidero adulescentis (is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis), non plus quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo

fr. 17). — 11. **et ego**: 'and I too'; omitting the untranslatable correlative before *Solonem*, l. 9. — 11. **litteras Graecas**: cf. Intr., § 11. Cato never lowered himself (in his own estimation) sufficiently to write in Greek; whereas Hannibal wrote a number of books in that language (Nepos, *Hann.* 13, 2). — 14. **exemplis**: Cicero is no doubt correct as to Cato's entirely practical aim in the reading of Greek. — 15. **vellem**: the impossible wish; cf. on 32, 2. — 15. **discebant . . . fidibus**: sc. *canere*. — 16. **antiqui**: *i.e.* Romans of the old stamp, a Camillus, perhaps, or a Fabricius. In any such occupation Cato would have been sure to defend himself by respectable precedent. — 16. **in litteris**: sc. *Graecis;* not of Cato's literary activity in general, since the whole point turns on fresh acquisition in old age.

**27. Nec nunc quidem**: *nec . . . quidem* is never in Cicero an equivalent for *ac ne . . . quidem*. The few examples of the expression which have been noted show a slight emphasis laid upon something with which a following clause or word is to be contrasted; e.g. *ad Fam.* 6, 6, 2: *nec eis quidem verbis . . . sed; de Div.* 1, 16 (MSS.): *Nec hoc quidem quaero, cur*. So here *quidem* is not to be joined with *nec*, but points the contrast between age and youth; *nunc quidem*, *i.e.* as an old man, in contrast with *adulescens* (l. 3), *i.e.* as a young man. It is not implied that he may some day have the need, not now felt, of youthful force. *Quidem* often serves in the balance of the Ciceronian sentence less to emphasize, for emphasis' sake, than to warn the reader of something to come. In such cases *quidem* is best rendered by mere stress. — 1. **desidero**: not of desire, but of a need felt; cf. *T. D.* 1, 87. — 2. **locus**:

decet uti et, quicquid agas, agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui cum iam senex esset athletasque se exercentes in curriculo videret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur inlacrimansque dixisse: 'At hi quidem mortui iam sunt.' Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse, nugator! neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civibus praescribebantur; quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia.

**28.** Orator metuo ne languescat senectute; est enim munus eius non ingeni solum, sed laterum etiam et virium.

as often, of the heads, or points, in an argument. — 4. **agas**: *quicquid* is regularly followed by the indic.; but the indef. second person requires the subjv. — 4. **pro viribus**: so moderation and prudence are advised in 33, 3. — 5. **vox**: cf. *Verr.* 5, 168: *nihil esse opis in hac voce 'civis Romanus sum.'* — 5. **contemptior**: on this use of perf. pass. ptcp., cf. *invictus*, 'invincible,' *e.g.* in *invicta Roma* on coins. — 6. **qui cum**: cf. on 2, 10. — 6. **curriculo**: 'the track.' — 8. **At**: the 'but' which prevents the old athlete from joining the others. — 8. **quidem**: anticipates the contrast of ll. 9–10. Cicero has unconsciously adapted the wording of Milo's exclamation to the context in which it stands. Cf. on l. 1: *Nec nunc quidem.* — 9. **isti**: sc. *mortui sunt.* — 9. **nugator**: freq. in Plautus; *e.g. Capt.* 275: *nimius nugator.* — 9. **ex te**: *i.e.* the man, the real self, not the body. — 10. **lateribus**: cf. below, 28, 2; also 14, 11. — 10. **Nihil . . . tale**: sc. *egit*; a formula to introduce the *exemplum contrarium.* — 12. **modo**: 'in more recent times.' — 12. **iura . . . praescribebantur**: the *responsa*, or opinions, of the jurists had great weight in determining the law, by establishing traditional interpretations; cf. on 22, 1. — 13. **prudentia**: by the context the word is defined to the meaning of *prudentia iuris publici* or *pontificii* (cf. *de Orat.* 1, 256, and the compound, *iurisprudentia*).

**28. Orator metuo ne**: one of the forms of *occupatio*, the speaker himself anticipating an objection which might be raised by an oppo-

Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos; sed tamen est decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque per se ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis cocta et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim est iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis?

nent; cf. on 21, 1. — 3. **Omnino**: here concessive, 'to be sure,' 'no doubt' (German *allerdings*). Translate, 'I might, no doubt, reply that.' The whole sentence — the *refutatio* of the previous charge — is divided into two arguments, one of which (*canorum illud . . . splendescit*) might be urged as a partial answer, but is put aside in favor of a second and stronger argument (*est decorus senis sermo quietus*). Cf. App. — 3. **canorum**: both Greeks and Romans had a marked fondness for high pitch. To this *canorum* seems to refer; but perhaps to mellowness. — 3. **splendescit**: the same transfer of terms of sight to hearing is found elsewhere; cf. *Brutus*, 203: *Vox . . . splendida*; *ib.* 239: *in voce magnum splendorem*; *ib.* 250: *splendore vocis*. Conversely Nero, according to Suet. 20, was *exiguae vocis et fuscae*; and in Cicero (*N. D.* 2, 146) the *canorum* and the *fuscum* are contrasted types of voice; while Quintilian, more consistently, uses *candida* and *fusca* as opposites (11, 3, 15). — 3. **nescio quo pacto**: cf. 82, 12. — 4. **et**: introducing what is logically adversative or concessive. 5. **quietus et remissus**: *i.e.* with neither the animation nor the intensity of youth; cf. 37, 3. *Intendere* and *remittere* are opposites in speaking of a bow, as also of the voice (Quint. 11, 3, 17). — 6. **audientiam**: 'a hearing.' — 7. **cocta et mitis**: synonyms; cf. Vergil, *Georg.* 2, 522: *mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis*; and for the tropical meaning, cf. *Brutus*, 288: *Ipse enim Thucydides si posterius fuisset, multo maturior fuisset et mitior*. For the reading, cf. App. — 7. **Quam**: referring to *oratio* only, without taking special account of the limiting adjectives, *cocta et mitis*, which express what is, after all, only a matter of course. — 7. **exsequi nequeas**: yet below, 31, 6, Nestor needs no physical strength for his honeyed oratory. — 8. **Scipioni**: 'a Scipio,' as an example, ready to hand, of all that was best in the younger generation. — 9. **studiis iuventutis**: 'with interested young men.'

**29.** An ne tales quidem vires senectuti relinquemus ut adulescentes doceat, instituat, ad omne offici munus instruat? quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur, nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ipsa ista defectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti.

**30.** Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem

**29. tales . . . ut**: an uncommon correlation, but used by Cicero, *de Off.* 1, 91 and 144; *Rep.* 2, 39; by Livy, 42, 42, 7. For the text, cf. App. — **2. offici munus**: cf. 35, 1; 72, 2; as though *munus* were not definite enough, the gen. of its synonym *officium* is joined to it. — **2. instruat**: not 'instruct' in the usual sense, but 'equip,' 'fit out,' 'arm,' for future needs or emergencies (here *munus*). — **4. Cn. et P. Scipiones**: on the age of the men named in this section, cf. Intr., § 56. — **4. avi tui duo**: one by nature, the other by adoption; cf. Index of Persons. — **6. bonarum artium magistri**: Socrates said that in fitting others for public life, he did a greater service to the state than if he himself engaged in politics; Xen., *Mem.* 1, 6, 15. — **6. putandi**: sc. *sunt.* — **7. quamvis**: in its original meaning; not 'although.' — **7. Etsi**: cf. 2, 3 and on 1, 7. — **8. ista**: the 2d person suggested by this demonstrative is an imaginary opponent, not Scipio or Laelius; hence the unemphatic position after the more important *ipsa*, which regularly would follow; cf. App. — **8. adulescentiae**: note the emphatic order. — **8. vitiis**: in the widest sense; not 'vices.'

**30. apud**: the regular preposition for 'in Xenophon,' 'in Plato,' and the like; cf. 31, 1; 79, 1. If a passage in a book is cited, the latter stands in the abl. with *in*; *e.g.* *in Phaedro, T. D.* 1, 53. — **1. eo sermone**: *i.e.* the last book of the *Cyropaedīa* (8, 7, 6 ff.). — **2. cum . . . esset**: a concession with what follows, parallel to *extremo tempore aetatis* (l. 7) in the

factam quam adulescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset, viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut adulescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere, quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nostrae conceditur.

X. **31.** Videtisne ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Iam enim tertiam aetatem hominum videbat, nec erat ei verendum ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, 'ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio,' quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus. Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat ut Aiacis similes

example of Metellus. — 4. **factam**: cf. γιγνόμενον; — ὥστε καὶ τοὐμὸν γῆρας οὐδεπώποτε ᾐσθόμην τῆς ἐμῆς νεότητος ἀσθενέστερον γιγνόμενον (*Cyropaed. l.c.*). — 5. **puer**: by adding *puer* and using the present *esse* (l. 7), Cato emphasizes his personal recollection of the man; cf. H. 618, 2; L. 2220; A. 336, A, n. 1; G. 281, 2, n. — 5. **cum . . . factus esset**: in the present case the ptcp. *factus* might have been used alone; but often the *cum*-clause is a necessary resort, because the proper ptcp. is lacking; cf. on 16, 9; cf. 41, 14. — 8. **requireret**: for the meaning, cf. *T. D.* 1, 87: *habuit, non habet, desiderat, requirit, indiget.* — 8. **necesse est mihi . . . dicere**: the dat. with inf. is regular with *necesse est* when the personal element is emphasized.

**31. Videtisne**: the question expects no answer; it is merely one of the set forms with which an illustration (example) is introduced. One cannot say, therefore, with many of the editors, that *-ne* is here equivalent to *nonne*. The question is merely a rhetorical substitute for an imperative. — 1. **ut**: cf. on 26, 6. — 1. **Nestor**: the reader would at once recall the fact that Cato himself was a Nestor; cf. Intr., § 33. — 2. **tertiam aetatem**: cf. *Il.* 1, 252: μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν. Cf. App. — 5. **ex eius lingua**: τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή, *Il.* 1, 249. — 7. **optat ut**: the regular construction, — a sub-

habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris; quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat quin brevi sit Troia peritura.

**32.** Sed redeo ad me. Quartum ago annum et octogesimum; vellem equidem idem possem gloriari quod Cyrus, sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem eis esse viribus quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. Acilio Glabrione consule, sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non adflixit senectus, non curia vires meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum adsensus veteri illi laudatoque

stantive clause; the acc. and infin. with *opto* is rare in classical Latin. — 8. **sed ut Nestoris**: in *Il.* 2, 372, Agamemnon wishes he had ten such counsellors as Nestor. — 8. **quod si**: cf. on 2, 10. — 9. **brevi sit Troia peritura**: τῷ κε τάχ' ἠμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος, κτλ., *l.c.* 373.

**32. redeo ad me**: cf. 30, 8; *Lael.* 1, *fin.* — 1. **Quartum**: cf. Intr., § 22 n. 2. — 2. **vellem . . . possem**: the regular form for the wish which can never be realized; cf. 26, 15; 32, 12; the subjv. is potential. — 3. **queo**: seldom found in affirmative sentences. Some forms occur only with *non*; cf. L. 768. — 3. **non me quidem**: correlative with l. 7: *sed tamen*; 'that while (though) I have not . . . still . . .' The freedom of dialogue allows Cato to abandon the indirect discourse for the direct before reaching the main statement, *non . . . enervavit*. — 4. **miles**: 'common soldier'; cf. 18, 1. — 4. **quaestor**: Intr., § 24. — 5. **consul**: Intr., § 26. — 6. **tribunus militaris**: Intr., § 27. — 6. **depugnavi**: the decisive character of the victory is expressed by *de-*; the indic., because the only motive of the *cum*-clause is to define the time. — 8. **adflixit**: an expressive word, frequently used of ships dashed upon the shore, or in descriptions of battles; 'shatter,' 'wreck,' 'ruin,' not 'afflict.' — 8. **curia**: often for the senate itself, while *rostra* (l. 9) by the same figure stands for the popular assembly. On Cato's speeches in his old age, especially his defence of clients. cf. Intr., § 33. — 10. **Nec . . . sum adsensus**: Cicero a little farther on (38, 3 ff.) approves entirely of the idea underlying the proverb. Here he takes advantage of its ambiguity to protest against its misapplication, as

proverbio, quod monet 'mature fieri senem, si diu velis senex esse.' Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem quam esse senem ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit, cui fuerim occupatus.

33. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis vires habetis; num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum, quantum potest quisque, nitatur; ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum humeris sustineret bovem. Vtrum igitur has corporis, an Pythagorae tibi malis vires

excusing indolence and an early retirement. — 11. **mature fieri**: the inf. after *moneo*, instead of the usual *ut* with subjv., occurs a few times even in Cicero, where the advice or remark is of a general character; cf. L. 1954. — 12. **me ... esse mallem**: cf. on 73, 6; *ad Fam.* 1, 9, 18; L. 2190; M. 389, o. 4. — 12. **mallem**: cf. *vellem*, l. 2; the unreal form is used because the time for such wishing is long past for Cato. Had he the choice to make over again, he would prefer .... — 14. **convenire**: often of calls upon one's time and attention. — 14. **cui fuerim**: characteristic clause.

**33. At**: anticipated objection (*occupatio*); cf. 21, 1; on 28, 1. — 1. **Ne vos quidem ... habetis**: 'you too do not have,' etc.; cf. 47, 2; 76, 5. — 2. **centurionis**: a natural illustration of physical strength, more Roman than the athlete. — 3. **Moderatio**: not 'moderation,' for that would conflict with *quantum ... nitatur*, just below. The noun here corresponds with the second meaning of the verb ('manage,' 'regulate,' 'control,' 'direct'). — 3. **modo**: proviso, of which the apodosis is *ne ille non ... tenebitur*. — 4. **ne**: the affirmative, 'surely.' — 5. **Olympiae**: the example is brought in without any of the usual forms of introduction. But by emphasis upon the locative attention is called away to the scene of the anecdote; cf. on 21, 2. — 6. **cum ... sustineret**: differs in no respect from the ptcp. construction (*humeris sustinens bovem*); but classical Latin uses the pres. ptcp. with moderation, and often substitutes a clause with *cum*. — 7. **Pythagorae**: the contrast between athlete and philosopher is heightened by the fact that they were contemporaries and fellow-citizens of Croton. — 7. **malis**: but *mallem*,

ingeni dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit, cum absit, ne requiras, nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paululum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae, eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat, quod suo tempore percipi debeat.

**34.** Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equom omnino non ascendere, cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere, nullo imbri,

32, 12, and *vellem*, 32, 2. The form of the possible wish is here chosen as more polite than the bald, but entirely truthful, *malles*. — **8. isto**: 'that you have.' — **8. utare**: the subject is indefinite, not Scipio or Laelius. — **8. adsit . . . absit**: subjv. under the influence of *utare*. The whole case is ideal. — **9. requiras**: on the meaning, cf. on 30, 8; the general form of prohibition corresponds to the command *utare*. — **9. nisi forte**: ironical; often introducing a statement the absurdity of which is self-evident. — **11. Cursus**: for the figure, cf. 83, 12. — **11. simplex**: 'direct,' 'without turnings'; cf. *N. D.* 2, 144, where a *flexuosum iter* is contrasted with the *simplex et derectum*. — **13. ferocitas**: 'spirit' or 'high spirit'; the complimentary meaning of *ferox* is frequent in Latin, especially in Livy; the abstract in this sense is regularly *ferocia*. — **14. constantis**: cf. 76, 4. — **15. percipi**: the figure is from the harvest, or the gathering of fruit (cf. 24, 4). Cicero probably had still in mind the passage he has already cited (30, 1) from the *Cyropaedīa*, where Cyrus says: *παῖς τε ὢν τὰ ἐν παισὶ νομιζόμενα καλὰ δοκῶ κεκαρπῶσθαι* (*percepisse*), *κτλ.*

**34. hospes tuus avitus**: the tie of *hospitium* passed by inheritance from generation to generation, and imposed its sacred obligations upon those who might be entire strangers to one another. The friendly reception of this Scipio by the aged Masinissa is described in the *Somnium Scipionis*, § 1. — **3. omnino non**: 'on no account,' or 'not at all.' — **4. equo**: the *means* of transportation; so

nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit, summam esse in eo siccitatem corporis, itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Ne sint in senectute vires; ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus eis quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur.

**35.** At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes, ut nullum offici aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetu-

*pedibus*, l. 3. — **5. adduci**: *i.e. cogi.* — **6. siccitatem**: *i.e. firmitatem;* 'soundness,' 'firmness'; literally 'dryness,' freedom from unhealthy humors, or excessive perspiration; usually associated with exercise, regimen, and self-control (cf. *exercitatio*, *temperantia*, l. 7), as the means by which such a healthful state is maintained. Lucilius, 611, *Lach.: cum . . . corpus siccassem pila; T. D.* 5, 99: *siccitatem, quae consequitur hanc continentiam in victu, . . .* (and, by way of contrast,) *confer sudantis, ructantis, refertos epulis tamquam opimos boves;* Catullus, 23, 12: *corpora sicciora cornu* (of an excessive *siccitas*). — **7. Potest igitur**: 'It is possible then.' — **9. Ne sint**: cf. 17, 5; 84, 2; admission for the sake of argument. After proving that something of the *pristinum robur* can be retained even in old age, Cicero now says: 'Assume for the moment that old age is deprived of physical strength. What of it? Age can dispense with strength of body.' Cf. App. — **10. a senectute**: 'of old age.' — **10. legibus . . . muneribus**: note the different abl. constructions. *Lex a quinquagesimo anno* (XLVI under the republic) *militem non legit, a sexagesimo senatorem non citat,* Seneca, *Brev. Vitae*, 20, 4. — **12. non modo**: to be translated as though it were *non modo non;* since *ne . . . quidem* ('also not' as well as 'not even') standing with a common predicate extends its negative force back into the preceding clause; H. 656, 3; L. 1682; G. 482, 5, R. 1; B. 343, 2, *a*.

**35. At**: the anticipated objection (*occupatio*) is here met in the same form with a second *at* (l. 2); cf. 68, 8. — **1. offici . . . munus**: cf. 29, 2; 72, 2. — **2. omnino**: 'for

dinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit, quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sint aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt; pugnandum tamquam contra
[36 morbum sic contra senectutem, habenda ratio valetudinis, utendum exercitationibus modicis, tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur.

that matter.' — 4. **Africani filius**: cf. Index of Persons, *s.v.* Cornelius. The epitaph of this Scipio was apparently known to Cicero, and has been discovered in the family tomb by the Appian Way, within the present city-walls. The inscription says that if he had lived longer he would easily have surpassed the *gloria maiorum*. — 5. **valetudine**: cf. 32, 3: *eis esse viribus*. — 5. **Quod ni**: 'and if this had not'; cf. 82, 14. — 6. **illud**: *ille* would be expected, but by a common form of attraction the pronoun is drawn into the gender of the predicate (*lumen*); cf. *Phil.* 5, 39: *Pompeio enim patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, exstincto*; cf. *Phil.* 2, 54 (nearly the same words). — 6. **lumen**: for the figure, cf. the examples just cited; *fulmen* is used in the same way by Lucretius (3, 1034) of the elder Africanus, by Vergil (*Aen.* 6, 842) of the two Africani, by Cicero (*pro Balbo*, 34) of Cn. and P. Scipio. — 7. **paternam**: 'inherited from his father,' but implying that his *magnitudo animi* was equal to that of the Elder Scipio. — 8. **Quid mirum**: a formula, often without the verb. — 11. **diligentia**: 'carefulness,' 'care,' not 'industry' or 'diligence.' — 11. **pugnandum**: in a comparison of life with a ship in a storm, Seneca has *luctandum cum ipso mari* (*Ep.* 108, 37); and elsewhere of men unwilling to retire by reason of age, *cum imbecillitate corporis pugnant* (*Brev. Vitae*, 20, 4). — 12. **morbum**: there was a Latin proverb (from the Greek): *senectus ipsa est morbus* (Ter., *Phorm.* 575); Seneca went further, and said: *senectus . . . insanabilis morbus est* (*Ep.* 108, 28). — 13. **exercitationibus**: cf. the saying of Cato: *Nam vita humana prope uti ferrum est. Si exerceas, conteritur; si non exer-*

36. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defatigatione ingravescunt, animi autem se exercendo levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius '*cómicos stultós senes*,' hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos, quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae senectutis. Vt petulantia, ut libido

*ceas, tamen robigo interficit* (Gellius, 11, 2, 6); cf. on 36, 4; this is from his *Carmen de Moribus*; cf. Intr., § 40. — **13. tantum . . . ut**: 'only so much . . . that.'

**36. 2. haec**: *i.e. mens* and *animus*, hence neuter. — **2. tamquam lumini oleum**: incomplete comparison; translate *tamquam* by 'as it were,' 'so to speak.' — **3. instilles**: cf. 21, 1. — **4. ingravescunt**: cf. Cato himself: *Item homines exercendo videmus conteri; si nihil exerceas, inertia atque torpedo plus detrimenti facit quam exercitio*, — the rest of the passage cited on 35, 13 (Jordan, p. 83). — **5. Nam**: an indirect form of *occupatio*. The anticipated objection is put as something scarcely deserving to be mentioned. In translation one supplies, 'Caecilius's well-known saying I have no need to refute, for . . .,' or 'The old man of the comedy does not disprove my statements, for . . .' In the Latin there is no real ellipsis. *Nam* retains its ordinary confirmatory sense, but is applied (as are also *enim* and *at enim*) to something which might well be passed over in silence, or with but a word. — **5. ait Caecilius**: the verses are cited in full, *Lael.* 99; *ait* here has a construction frequent enough with *dico*. — **6. comicos**: 'on the comic stage,' or 'of the comedy.' In the later Greek and Roman comedies, old men are constant subjects of ridicule, deceived by their sons and outwitted by their slaves (cf. *credulos*). Cf. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 51, Büch.:

*Scaéna quem senêm Latina vídit*
*derisíssimum.*

— **6. hos significat credulos**: for the two-accusative construction, cf. *Quem enim intellegimus divitem?* (*Parad.* 42): 'Whom do we mean by the rich man?' *Puto, duco, habeo* ('consider'), *existimo*, are used in the same way, on the analogy of verbs of naming. — **7. dissolutos**: not in an immoral sense. From the literal meaning, 'loosed,' and association with untidiness in dress, it has taken on the sense of 'slack,' 'remiss,' 'care-

magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium.

37. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat nec languescens succumbebat senectuti; tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos; metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat in illa domo mos patrius et disciplina.

38. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit,

less,' 'inattentive.' — **10. ista**: with the force of the 2d person, and the thought of an antagonist, — the person who misapplies Caecilius's words. — **10. senilis stultitia**: corresponding to *stultos senes* of the quotation. — **11. deliratio**: 'childishness'; *lira* was the ridge between two furrows; *deliratio*, therefore, meant literally a straying out of the furrow, a flying the track; *delirium* involves the same figure. Hannibal once found himself obliged to hear a Greek philosopher, Phormio, lecture on generalship. Asked his opinion of this fluent discourse, Hannibal replied: *multos se deliros senes saepe vidisse, sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret, vidisse neminem* (*de Oratore*, 2, 75).

**37. robustos**: 'sturdy,' 'stalwart,' in the prime of life and vigor. — **2. regebat**: the power of the Roman *pater familias* over his entire household was at first absolute, a virtual *imperium* (cf. 64, 4), as Cicero says below (l. 5). The sons might themselves be fathers, magistrates, commanders, consuls, without ceasing to be under the rule of their father in private affairs and at home; cf. Gellius, 2, 2, 9. — **2. et caecus et senex**: the concessive idea is expressed only in an emphatic order of words. — **4. succumbebat senectuti**: of the assaults of age upon a feeble old man Seneca says: *magno senectus et universo pondere incubuit* (*Ep.* 30, 1). — **6. vigebat in illa domo . . .**: Cicero sums up in these words his vivid picture of family government in days when the *patria potestas* was maintained in all its rigor. Cato's own household was scarcely less patriarchal; cf. Intr., § 12.

**38. Ita . . . si**: 'only in case';

si ius suum retinet, si nemini mancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Vt enim adulescentem in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adulescentis, probo; quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus, omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo, causarum inlustrium, quascumque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes, ius augurium, pontificium, civile tracto, multum etiam Graecis litteris utor Pythagoreorumque more, exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Haec

cf. 35, 13: *tantum . . . ut*. — 2. **si nemini mancipata est**: 'if it has not passed into the control of any one.' Cato is here made to employ technical language of the Roman law, and if the text is correct (cf. App.) he uses *mancipo* (as does Plautus, *Curc.* 496) in the sense usually given to *emancipo*. Both words were used of the formal transfer of a piece of property, a slave, or a son, by the owner or the father, to the authority or ownership of another. — 3. **dominatur in suos**: cf. the definition of *pater familias*, viz. *qui in domo dominium habet* (Ulpian, *Dig.* 50, 16, 195, 2). — 4. **in quo est senile aliquid**: cf. on 32, 10–11, and the proverb there criticised. — 5. **quod qui**: cf. on 2, 10. — 6. **Septimus mihi**: Cato's own example is introduced abruptly and without formality. — 7. **Originum**: cf. Intr., § 35. — 7. **in manibus**: cf. on 12, 3; 22, 11. — 7. **antiquitatis monumenta**: *i.e.* 'memorials' or 'records of the past,' in whatever form; to inscriptions on tombs he has already referred, 21, 6–8. — 8. **nunc cum maxime**: 'just now,' 'at this very moment'; properly elliptical, more or less like 'now if ever.' — 9. **orationes**: cf. Intr., § 37; he is giving them their final form (*conficio*). — 9. **ius**: on Cato's legal writings, cf. Intr., § 39. — 10. **Graecis litteris**: cf. on 26, 11. — 10. **Pythagoreorumque more**: the self-confessional of the Pythagorean's evening hour is transformed by Cato from a moral and edifying practice into an exercise of memory. The members of Pythagoras's order asked themselves each night:

Πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;

The verses, however, were of late date; cf. Epictetus, 3, 10. — 12. **commemoro**: i.e. *in memoriam*

sunt exercitationes ingeni, haec curricula mentis, in his desudans atque elaborans corporis viris non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis, venio in senatum frequens ultroque adfero res multum et diu cogitatas, easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim, facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit, nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

*reduco* (Nonius, 91, 9 M., citing this place). — 12. **Haec**: for *hae* a number of times in Cicero; cf. *T. D.* 1, 22, Heine. — 14. **desudans**: keeping to the figure of athletic exercise. — 15. **Adsum amicis**: in the usual sense, of giving aid and counsel in court. — 15. **frequens**: H. 497; A. 191; G. 325, R. 6; B. 239. The meaning is 'regularly,' 'constantly,' rather than 'frequently.' — 15. **ultroque adfero**: the privilege of introducing new business belonged to the presiding magistrate alone. But any senator who had the floor could digress from the subject of debate without being ruled out of order. On Cato's practice, cf. Intr., § 32, n. 4. — 16. **tueor**: of supporting an argument, maintaining one's opinions. — 18. **lectulus**: cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 67, 2: *Ago gratias senectuti, quod me lectulo adfixit.* The *lectulus* was much used for reading and writing, and does not suggest idleness. Thus Ovid in exile complains (*Trist.* 1, 11, 37 f.) that he is not writing in his garden nor upon his study-lounge:

*Nec, consuete, meum, lectule, corpus habes.*

— 20. **viventi**: the verb *obrepere*, or an equivalent, was in the writer's mind when he began the sentence; hence the dative would be looked for. But *viventi* cannot be altogether separated from *intellegitur*. The indefiniteness of the construction is natural, since *non intellegitur* is much like 'there is no telling.' Translate, 'For a man who lives his whole life . . .' Cf. App. — 21. **obrepat**: cf. 4. 15. — 21. **sensim sine sensu . . . senescit**: alliteration and assonance combine with the oxymoron (*sensim sine sensu*) in a studied and eminently successful effort to describe vividly the imperceptible advance of age; *sensim* as thus qualified by its opposite loses its idea of 'sensibly,' 'perceptibly'; cf. on 39, 2; 16, 5. — 22. **exstinguitur**: cf. 71, 8.

## III

XII. 39. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, siquidem id aufert a nobis quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cuius voluptatis avidae libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur.

**39. quod . . . dicunt**: in apposition with *vituperatio* (cf. 44, 2–3); the abuse of old age consists in their saying that . . .; not causal, or to be compared with 4, 3–4. — **2. O praeclarum**: for the *epiphonema*, or exclamation, following the statement of the third charge against old age, cf. 66, 4 (the fourth charge); cf. also 84, 8. — **2. munus . . . aufert**: an intended contradiction, or oxymoron; cf. 38, 21; the gift really consists in a dispensation from the sensual. — **4. Accipite**: used in introducing an account, a quotation, etc.; cf. Ter., *Phorm.* 858, where a slave, after urging, begins his story with *Accipe, em!* Conversely *cedo*, is 'tell'; cf. 20, 6. — **4. enim**: the preceding exclamation is to be justified by the reasoning of Archytas. — **5. magni in primis**: more effective than the trite superlative *maximi*. A similar expression is *inter paucos*. Cf. Livy, 22, 3, 3: *Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis*; *ib.* 7, 1: *inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades.* — **6. tradita est**: *i.e.* in the words of his host Nearchus, as we are told below, 41, 10 ff. — **6. cum essem . . . Tarenti**: cf. 10, 8. — **7. Nullam capitaliorem**: cf. below, 40, 8; cf. Livy, 21, 44, 9: *nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis inmortalibus acrius datum est.* — **7. capitaliorem**: Cicero had called Catiline a *capitalis hostis* (*Cat.* 2, 3): cf. *Phil.* 4, 3: *cum . . . capitalem et pestiferum a Brundisio tum M. Antoni reditum timeremus.* — **8. corporis**: up to § 49 Cato limits himself mainly to bodily pleasures. — **9. cuius . . . incitarentur**: 'since in their desire for this pleasure'; a causal clause, to justify the sweeping statement which has just preceded. — **9. voluptatis**: the word is repeated for clearness' sake. — **10. potiendum**: cf. on 48, 3.

**40.** Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci; nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis inlecebris nisi voluptatis; cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem.

**41.** Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima; nemini censebat fore dubium, quin tam diu dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione,

**40. patriae**: 'of one's native city.' — 1. **rerum publicarum**: 'of free states.' — 2. **eversiones**: the figure is from a column or a temple. — 2. **cum hostibus . . . colloquia**: cf. on 7, 11. — 3. **scelus** (the stronger term) and **malum facinus** imply violence or treachery; desertion was a *scelus*. — 4. **impelleret**: cf. *incitarentur*, 39, 10. — 5. **flagitium**: the word is especially reserved for deeds of shame. — 5. **excitari**: of the first impulse; *incitari* would refer to the added stimulus. — 8. **muneri ac dono**: no distinction is to be made here between these synonyms; cf. 47, 7: *satiatis . . . et expletis*. — 8. **nihil tam . . . inimicum**: cf. *Hortensius*, fr. 81 (74): *cuius* [*voluptatis*] *motus ut quisque est maximus, ita est inimicissimus philosophiae*.

**41.** 2. **neque omnino**: a stronger statement than the preceding, since the rule even of *voluptas* (not *libido* of l. 1) is described by the invidious word *regnum* ('tyranny'), and *virtus* is more comprehensive than *temperantia* (l. 1). — 2. **consistere**: 'gain a foothold.' — 3. **fingere**: the *exemplum fictum* (cf. 17, 2) here takes the form of imagining an extreme case, to show that a principle is unsound, even in everyday use, if it is incapable of being applied to an extreme instance; cf. *Hortensius*, *l.c.* — 5. **percipi**: cf. on 33, 15. — 6. **tam diu dum**: the more regular correlative would be *quam diu*, or *quam*. But cf.

nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile [tamque pestiferum] quam voluptatem, siquidem ea, cum maior esset atque longior, omne animi lumen exstingueret. Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio.

42. Quorsus hoc? Vt intellegeretis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam esse habendam senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret ut id non liberet,

*ad Att.* 9, 6, 5: *sed tam diu dum lego*; cf. *Cat.* 3, 16. — 7. **consequi**: is an advance upon *agitare*, and marks the reaching of a settled conclusion. — 8. **[tamque pestiferum]**: cf. App.; *pestem*, 39, 7. — 8. **siquidem**: 'since indeed.' Even without *quidem*, a clause which is in no sense a true condition is often introduced with *si*; cf. 56, 2; H. 316, 7; L. 2019; G. 595, R. 5. — 9. **maior . . . longior**: strict consistency would require superlatives, to correspond with *quanta percipi posset maxima* (ll. 4-5). But there is a consciousness that something less than an absolute extreme will prove the same point. — 10. **Haec cum . . .**: the period has much of the freedom of conversation; cf. 43, 1-6. — 13. **hospes noster**: Cato was doubtless quartered upon Nearchus. — 13. **permanserat**: *i.e.* during the three years of Carthaginian occupation, 212-209; cf. 10, 1; 11, 4. — 14. **cum . . . interfuisset Plato**: 'Plato having been present'; a circumstance standing in no vital relation to the sentence, and merely appended as an afterthought. The whole clause might be abl. abs., if the appropriate ptcp. existed. Cf. on 16, 9; 49, 9; 50, 4; 55, 6. — 15. **Tarentum venisse**: the credibility of this statement, that Plato in his old age (349) made one more voyage to the Greek cities of the west, is generally denied.

**42. Quorsus hoc?**: cf. 44, 1; 13, 1. — 1. **intellegeretis**: imperf., because of the past idea of saying involved in *Quorsus hoc?* which fixes the sequence of the following subjunctives (except *possemus*). — 3. **habendam**: of the inward feeling, not the outward expression. —

quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem, L. Flamininum, e senatu eicerem septem annis post quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul in Gallia, exoratus in convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperi dedecus.

XIII. **43**. Saepe audivi e maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fa-

3. **senectuti gratiam**: cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 67, 2: *Quidni gratias illi* [*senectuti*] *hoc nomine agam? quicquid debebam nolle, non possum;* cf. 46, 4. — 3. **quae efficeret**: cf. below, ll. 14–15. — 3. **non liberet**: cf. 44, 3. — 5. **mentis . . . praestringit oculos**: *praestringere aciem* or *oculos*, is a favorite expression of Cicero, perhaps original with him in this tropical sense (hence, *ut ita dicam*); cf. *Div.* 1, 61: *praestringere aciem mentis solet*. — 6. **Invitus**: it is the ideal Cato who expresses this reluctance, quite foreign to the real censor. — 7. **e senatu eicerem**: cf. Intr., § 29. — 8. **septem**: strictly *eight*, *i.e.* 192–184. — 9. **notandam**: *i.e.* with the *nota censoria;* cf. Livy, 39. 42, 6 (in speaking of Cato's censorship): *Patrum memoria institutum fertur, ut censores motis senatu adscriberent notas*. — 10. **exoratus in convivio**: there were two versions of the story, one in Cato's own oration (Livy, 39, 42, 8–12), the other on the authority of Valerius Antias (*ib.* 43, 1–3). And Cicero, strangely enough, follows the latter. — 12. **proximus ante me**: *i.e.* 189, five years before the censorship of Cato; Intr., § 28. — 14. **flagitiosa**: cf. on 40, 5. — 15. **imperi**: 'to his command,' 'his high office,' hence, indirectly to the state which he represented in the plains of the Po (*Gallia Cisalpina;* there were at that time no Roman possessions in the *Transalpina*).

**43**. **porro**: here looking backward; much more frequently it has a future reference. — 2. **soli-**

bricium quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea esse quendam Athenis qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia quae faceremus ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientes M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat; norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius; qui cum ex sua vita, tum ex eius quem dico Deci facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte

**tum**: sc. *esse;* cf. *solitos* (*esse*), l. 7. — 4. **quendam**: *i.e.* Epicurus, whom Cato avoids mentioning by name; cf. Intr., § 57. — 5. **profiteretur**: the usual verb in such connections. The noun *professor* was not yet in use in Cicero's time. The two-accusative construction is most frequent; *esse* is also inserted (cf. *Verr.* 3, 217), while *profiteri philosophiam* (cf. *Pis.* 71) shows another construction. — 5. **eumque**: *-que* acquires adversative force when it connects things usually irreconcilable, or the concurrence of which creates surprise; cf. 13, 10: *vixitque.* — 5. **dicere**: made parallel with *esse*, instead of continuing the relative clause *qui profiteretur.* — 5. **faceremus**: for the sequence, observe that the effect of *audivi* (l. 1) still continues. — 6. **ad voluptatem**: the usual misinterpretation of the teachings of Epicurus, who was not a sensual man, and meant by ἡδονή something very different from the pleasures of sense; cf. *Lael.* 32: *qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt;* cf. on 45, 8: *metiebar.* — 7. **solitos**: continuing the construction of *audivi* (l. 1). — 9. **Vixerat . . . cum**: *vivere cum* is not to be confused with *habitare cum* (*apud*). — 10. **eum consulem**: 290 B.C., the first of Curius's three consulships. — 11. **devoverat**: in battle with Gauls, Samnites, and Etruscans (at Sentinum, 295); cf. 75, 3: *non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt,...* On *devotio*, cf. on 75, 3. — 11. **norat . . . norat**: anaphora, more effective than a conjunction. — 13. **quem dico**: 'of whom I am speaking.' — 14. **natura**: in itself, independently of the advantage it might bring. — 14. **sua sponte**: 'for its own sake,' without regard

peteretur, quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optimus quisque sequeretur.

**44.** Quorsus igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis; caret ergo etiam vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus (divine enim Plato 'escam malorum' appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces), quamquam inmoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duilium M. f., qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur cereo funali et

to pleasure or pain. — 15. **peteretur . . . sequeretur**: these become presents in English. The nature of the *aliquid natura pulchrum* is defined by these characteristic clauses. — 16. **sequeretur**: cf. 38, 5: *quod qui sequitur*.

**44.** 2. **vituperatio**: in the same sense as 39, 1, where it was also followed by a *quod*-clause ('the fact that'), to which *quod . . . desiderat* corresponds in this case, — in apposition to *vituperatio* and *laus*. — 3. **Caret . . . caret**: with a shift of meaning to suit the conversion of a *vituperatio* (the first *caret*-clause) into a *laus* (the second). That this method does not entirely meet the case, is acknowledged in the following admission, *Sed si . . .* — 7. **escam malorum**: ἡδονήν, μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ, *Timaeus*. 69 D; cf. *Hortensius*, fr. 81 (74). — 8. **quod ea . . . ut pisces**: the meaning of Plato is too obvious to need explanation. A gloss may have found its way into the text; but the clause is in all the Mss. — 10. **M. f.**: in Roman inscriptions it was usual to add the name of father and even grandfather; thus *M. f., C. n.* is *Marci filius, Gai nepos*; a most useful custom in view of the poverty of Roman names. — 11. **devicerat**: his victory — the first Roman naval victory over Carthage — was commemorated in the Forum by a column (*columna rostrata*) adorned with the beaks of ships, and provided with an inscription, an ancient copy of which is still to be seen on the Capitol. — 12. **senem**: Duilius must have been very old in

tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat; tantum licentiae dabat gloria.

45. Sed quid ego alios? ad me ipsum iam revertar. Primum habui semper sodales; sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis.

the boyhood of Cato. — 12. **cereo funali**: a twisted taper coated with wax. — 13. **tibicine**: the flute-player was to be found at every sacrifice or funeral, often at feasts. — 13. **privatus**: *i.e.* although not a magistrate. The right to be attended by a taper-bearer and a flute-player on the return from a feast was confined to magistrates; cf. Servius on Verg., *Aen.* 1, 727 (speaking of small or hand-candelabra): *quae interdum erant minora, ut gestari manu et praeferri magistratibus a cena remeantibus possent.* — 13. **sumpserat**: what was assumed, if we trust Cicero, without precedent or authority, was according to Livy a privilege duly conferred upon the hero of that naval victory: *ob quam causam ei perpetuus quoque honos habitus est, ut revertenti a cena tibicine canente funale praeferretur* (*per.* 17). Valerius Maximus evades the question, but adds a *fidicen* (3, 6, 4).

**45. Sed quid ego alios?** sc. *commemoro;* on the *revocatio*, cf. 3, 10. — 1. **ad me**: cf. 32, 1. — 2. **Primum**: to contrast club dinners with private affairs (note *quoque*, 46, 2). — 2. **sodales**: the members of any *collegium* (priestly, or otherwise) were *sodales* or *collegae:* cf. Gaius (*Dig.* 47, 22, 4): *Sodales sunt, qui eiusdem collegii sunt.* The Arval Brothers were such a society. — 2. **sodalitates**: or *collegia;* not in this case like the priestly colleges, but still associated with a cult, — that of the newly imported goddess, in whose honor these clubs held feasts. — 2. **me quaestore**: 204 B.C.; cf. 10, 8, and Intr., § 24. — 3. **Idaeis**: from Mt. Ida in the Troad, the original home of this cult, although Pessinus in Phrygia (Galatia), from which the meteoric stone came to Rome, was far away to the east. — 3. **Magnae Matris**: the first Asiatic deity whose worship was introduced at Rome. A Sibylline verse had been found in 205, saying that a foreign enemy (*i.e.* Hannibal) could be driven out of Italy and defeated, if the *Mater Idaea* (Cybele) should be brought to Rome from Pessinus (Livy, 29, 10, 4-5). Ambassadors were sent to Attalus, King of Pergamon, who escorted them to Pessinus and its celebrated temple. The reception of the goddess at Ostia, 204, by Scipio Nasica, as the *vir optimus in civitate*, was a familiar story to every Roman

Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis; qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur.

XIV. **46**. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam

(*ib.* 14, 8–14). Her temple has recently been identified with a picturesque ruin, covered by a grove of ilex trees, at the western angle of the Palatine; cf. on 50, 3. — 4. **Epulabar**: the principal feast of Cato's *sodalitas* must have been in April, at the *Megalesia*, the festival at which some of the plays of Plautus and Terence were first performed, in front of the temple just mentioned. — 4. **igitur**: resumptive, for feasting was implied in *sodales* (l. 2). — 4. **omnino . . . sed**: cf. 28, 3–5. — 5. **aetatis**: *i.e.* natural to that time of life. — 6. **mitiora**: cf. 28, 7: *cocta et mitis*. — 8. **metiebar**: the sense is not different from *ad voluptates . . . referebam;* cf. 43, 6. — 8. **accubitionem**: the unusual verbal corresponding to *accubare*, 'recline at table.' — 9. **epularem**: an equally uncommon adj. to limit *accubitio*; cf. *de Orat.* 3, 73: *illud ludorum epulare sacrificium.* — 9. **vitae coniunctionem**: cf. 43, 9: *Vixerat . . . cum . . .*, for the same suggestion of intimacy. The Greeks used συμβιωτής for 'friend' (*ad Fam.* 9, 10, 3). — 11. **compotationem**: συμπόσιον. — 11. **concenationem**: σύνδειπνον. — 11. **ut . . . videantur**: the inference is of that dubious sort which one people constantly draws from etymologies in the language of another. — 12. **in eo genere**: 'in things of that kind.'

**46.** 2. **tempestivis**: 'beginning early,' thus shortening the business day, the *solidus dies* of Horace (*Od.* 1, 1, 20). Such feasts often lasted until late at night (cf. l. 15). — 2. **quoque**: cf. on *primum*, 45, 2. — 2. **conviviis**: less formal than the ceremonial dinners with which 45 concerned itself. — 3. **qui pauci**: instead of *quorum pauci*; cf. *Phil.* 2, 13: *qui duo . . .*

aetate atque vobiscum, habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant (ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus), non intellego ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermo qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus; quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo conviviumque vici-

*reliqui sunt;* cf. such expressions as *qui omnes*, *qui nulli;* H. 442, 2; A. 216 *e*; G. 370, R. 2; R. 1295; — 3. **admodum**: cf. on 10, 4. — 4. **habeoque**: cf. on 42, 3. — 6. **ista**: second person, as belonging to that time of life represented by Scipio and Laelius, — not contemptuous; cf. below, l. 8, and 48, 1; quite different was *ista*, 29, 8. — 6. **ne . . . videar**: cf. on 52, 2; cf. 56, 14. — 8. **ne . . . quidem**: strengthening, not destroying, the previous negative; H. 656, 2; L. 1661; A. 209, *a*, 1; G. 445; B. 347, 2. — 9. **magisteria**: the *arbiter bibendi*, or *rex*, was also called *magister convivii;* it is the custom of having such *magistri* that Cato here approves. They were appointed with due ceremony even at *publica convivia* (Varro, *L.L.* 5, 122). — 11. **a summo**: sc. *lecto* (or *loco summi lecti*). Three couches, each with three places, were the conventional furniture of the Roman dining-room (*triclinium*). — 11. **adhibetur**: 'begins'; lit. 'is employed,' 'practised.' — 11. **in poculo**: 'with the cup,' which passed from left to right, from the *summus lectus* to the *medius*, and thence to the *imus*. — 12 **minuta atque rorantia**: 'dew-drop cups'; translating the words *μικραῖς κύλιξι . . . ἐπιψακάζωσιν;* small cups, often replenished, are meant, — wine that drips in dew-drops, and does not flow like water; Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2, 26; but the expression was borrowed from Gorgias (cf. 13, 11). — 12. **refrigeratio**: a very rare word, nowhere else in Cicero. The whole clause sounds out of keeping with Cato's contempt of comfort (cf. Intr., § 13), and is bracketed by some editors. Cf. App. — 14. **in Sabinis**: 'at my Sabine farm.' A farm or villa was often named from the people of the district; thus 'my Tuscan

norum cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem, quam maxime possumus, vario sermone producimus.

47. At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo, sed ne desideratur quidem; nihil autem est molestum, quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam adfecto aetate quaereret utereturne rebus veneriis: 'Di meliora!' inquit; 'libenter vero istinc sicut ab domino agresti ac furioso profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere, satiatis vero et expletis iucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderare dico esse iucundius.

villa' is *Tusci mei;* cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 5, 6, 1; Horace, *Od.* 2, 18, 14. — 14. **conviviumque vicinorum . . . compleo**: Horace also had a taste for such rustic dinner parties and their conversation, and has described them in his *Satires* (2, 6, 65 ff.: *O noctes cenaeque deum* . . .). For the gen. with *compleo*, cf. H. 458, 2; L. 1293; A. 248, *c.* 2, R.; G. 383, 1. The gen. may, however, depend upon *convivium* (Reid).

**47. At . . . Credo**: cf. on 21, 1; cf. 65, 1; 68, 5. — 1. **voluptatum**: subj. gen.; cf. *N. D.* 1, 113. — 1. **quasi**: always used by Cicero with *titillatio* and *titillare*, since this was not a generally accepted use of the words. But by the time of Seneca no apology is necessary (cf. *titillatio corporis*, *Ep.* 92, 6). — 1. **titillatio**: a translation of a favorite word of Epicurus (γαργαλισμός); *Epicuri enim hoc verbum est, N. D.* 1, 113. Properly it is a 'tickling' of the palate, or a pleasant stimulus to any other sense; hence taste for pleasures, enjoyment of pleasures (but see on *voluptatum* above). — 2. **ne . . . quidem**: 'not . . . either,' or 'also not'; cf. 33, 1; 76, 5; 78, 13. — 2. **desideratur**: cf. App. — 2. **nihil**: i.e. *nihil non habere*, as the context shows. — 3. **Bene**: cf. *praeclare*, 10, 14; *melius*, 25, 5; *vitiosius*, 25, 12. — 5. **Di meliora**: sc. *duint*, the old optative form. Plato (*Rep.* 1, 329 C), from whom Cicero takes the story, has Εὐφήμει, 'hush!' (*bona verba!*) — 5. **istinc**: 2d person, referring to *rebus veneriis* in the question (αὐτό in Plato). — 6. **domino agresti**: suggesting the severity of the country slave-owner; in Plato ἄγριον δεσπότην. — 6. **enim . . . vero**: cf. 19, 8–9: *Nec enim . . . sed.* — 7. **carere**: 'to lack,'

**48.** Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde eis quibus senectus, etiamsi non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Vt Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tantum quantum sat est.

**49.** At illa quanti sunt, animum tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionum, inimicitiarum,

'be without.' — 8. **Quamquam**: cf. on 1, 7. — 9. **hoc**: attributive to *non desiderare*; cf. L. 2215.

**48. istis**: cf. on 46, 6. — 1. **voluptatibus . . . fruitur**: cf. Varro, *Tithonus*, *Sat. Men.* 545, Büch.: *multicupida iuvenitas.* — 1. **bona aetas**: conversely old age was often *mala aetas*; cf. Turpilius in Nonius, 1, 15 M: —

*Miserúm puto, si etiam ístuc ad*
*malam aétatem accessít mali.*

— 2. **ut diximus**: referring to the general tone of 45 and 46, and the contrast of higher with lower pleasures. — 3. **potitur**: *i.e. fruitur*; cf. 39, 10: *potiendum, i.e. fruendum.* — 4. **Turpione Ambivio**: where the *praenomen* was omitted, as if by compensation, the more distinctive *cognomen* was often put before the generic *nomen* in colloquial Latin (and later in Silver Latin prose); but more formally, *Lucius Ambivius Turpio.* — 4. **in prima cavea**: Cicero ignores the fact that in Cato's time, when plays were given, no regular provision was made for seating the audience. The early custom had been to stand. In the theatre as Cicero knew it — both the temporary wooden structures and the one permanent theatre of Pompey — *prima cavea* meant the lowest tiers of seats in the long semicircular rows rising one above the other to the top of the theatre (*ultima*, or *summa cavea*). The level orchestra was reserved for senators; behind them, in the *prima cavea*, sat the knights, in the first fourteen rows. — 6. **propter**: here an adv., the opposite of *procul* (l. 7).

**49. illa**: 'it'; a following infinitive is often anticipated by *illud*. The plural here, not because there are two infinitives (*esse* and *vivere*, — one idea in two forms), but because the abl. absol. contains several ideas which are also anticipated by the writer

cupiditatum omnium secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studi atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Vivere modo videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Galum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio; quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coepisset! quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere!

in *illa*. — 1. **emeritis stipendiis**: the figure is softened by *tamquam*, 'so to speak'; military metaphors were much more common in Cato's time than in Cicero's, and were especially frequent in the plays of Plautus. But their free use in this dialogue is hardly a conscious archaism; cf. 9, 1; 35, 11; 46, 6; 73, 3; Intr., § 21. — 3. **secum . . . vivere**: a proverb; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 2, 1: *secum morari*. — 4. **tamquam pabulum**: the same figure, with even more of apology, in *animorum ingeniorumque naturale quoddam quasi pabulum*, *Acad.* 2, 127. Of browsing in a library Cicero has: *Ego hic pascor bibliotheca Fausti*, *ad Att.* 4, 10, 1. — 5. **otiosa**: with no suggestion of indolence. — 5. **Vivere . . . in**: cf. 38, 20: *in his studiis . . . viventi*; *ad Fam.* 9, 26, 1: '*Vivas*,' *inquis*, '*in litteris*.' Cf. App. — 6. **modo**: Galus had recently died, — in the year of the dialogue; cf. Intr., § 3. — 7. **familiarem patris tui**: cf. *Rep.* 1, 23 (the speaker Scipio): *quod et ipse hominem* (sc. *Galum*) *diligebam et in primis patri meo Paulo probatum et carum fuisse cognoveram*. — 8. **aliquid describere**: 'draw a diagram,' of geometrical or astronomical figures, or of maps and plans. — 9. **oppressit**: 'surprised him'; cf. Caes. (Hirtius), *B. G.* 8, 14, 2: *oppressi luce copias . . . instruunt*; Ter., *Andr.*, 227: *ne pater inprudentem opprimat*. — 9. **cum mane coepisset**: parallel to *ingressum*; for the change in construction results only from the lack of the proper ptcp.; cf. on 50, 4. — 9. **defectiones**: eclipses of the sun had been recorded by the Egyptians, whose lists were collected by Conon, a Greek astronomer (ca. 250 B.C.); cf. Seneca, *N. Q.* 7, 3, 3. Thales of Miletus (sixth century B.C.) was said to have been the first to predict an eclipse of the sun (*Div.* 1, 112). For the celebrated story of Galus's prediction of a lunar eclipse on the eve of the battle of Pydna (168), cf. Index of Persons. By Cicero's time eclipses were predicted for many years in advance (*N. D.* 2, 153: *defectiones solis et lunae cognitae praedictaeque in*

**50**. Quid in levioribus studiis, sed tamen acutis? quam gaudebat Bello suo Punico Naevius! quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium; qui, cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et ponti-

*omne posterum tempus, quae, quantae* (*i.e.* the degree of totality), *quando futurae sint*; cf. *Div.* 2, 17). They were also calculated backwards to the supposed time of Romulus (*Rep.* 1, 25 *fin.*).

**50. levioribus**: as of less value for the patriotic and unselfish citizen. Cicero (still more Cato) disapproved of all occupations which turned a man's attention away from public duties. Galus had avoided a too extreme devotion to his astronomy (*Off.* 1, 19). Even the quest of truth must not withdraw the student from state affairs; *cuius studio* (sc. *veri investigatio*) *a rebus gerendis abduci contra officium est*; *Off. l.c.*; cf. *ib.* 154. — **1. acutis**: an unexampled use of the word with *studia*. Commonly *acutus* denotes a keenness or sharpness acquired by training or effort; *acer*, a natural keenness. Hence — in a different figure — *acuta studia* would be pursuits or occupations already brought to a high state of cultivation by the labors of predecessors in the same field, so that no dullard could hope for success. — **2. Bello . . . Punico**: an epic poem on the 1st Punic war, with the early history of Rome and Carthage, divided by the grammarians into seven books. The metre was the native Saturnian. — **2. Truculento**: one of the twenty extant comedies of Plautus, performed about five years before the censorship of Cato. — **3. Pseudolo**: also extant; performed 191 B.C. at the dedication of the temple of Cybele on the Palatine; cf. on 45, 3–4. — **3. senem**: 'in his old age'; cf. on l. 9 below. — **4. cum . . . docuisset**: participial in force; cf. on 41, 14; cf. Hale, *op. cit.* p. 228. The fact and the date are mentioned because the year 240 marked an era in the history of Roman literature. The poet in early times had to train (*docere*, διδάσκειν) the performers, whether he acted himself or not. Hence *fabulam docere* is 'to bring out a play.' — **6. aetate**: not pregnant, for *long* life, but forming a single idea with the verb *processit*, 'lived on' or 'down'; cf. 21, 4. — **6. Quid . . loquar**: cf. on 24, 1. — **6. pontificii . . . iuris**: cf. 22, 1; the ceremonial law was a body

ficii et civilis iuris studio loquar aut de huius P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atque eos omnes quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantes senes vidimus; M. vero Cethegum, quem recte 'Suadae medullam' dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae; quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem, qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

XV. **51**. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector; quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur acce-

of traditions, full of intricacies and problems for the learning of the specialist. — 7. **huius**: 'the present.' — 8. **his paucis diebus**: 'a few days ago.' — 9. **flagrantes**: 'ardent,' 'enthusiastic.' — 9. **senes**: apposition, 'as old men'; cf. ll. 3 and 12. — 10. **Suadae medullam**: 'the marrow of Persuasion'; another quotation from the *Annals* (cf. 1, 1) of Ennius; cf. *Brutus*, 58:

*Flos delibatus populi Suadaeque medulla.*

— 11. **exerceri**: middle sense. — 12. **ludorum**: shows, gladiatorial and otherwise, the races and plays, which formed the more popular part of every Roman festival. — 14. **haec quidem**: in contrast with the occupation to which he is about to turn (51), viz. agriculture; *quidem* warns the reader of the contrast to follow. — 16. **honestum**: here of that which brings honor to its author. — 17. **ante dixi**: cf. 26, 9.

**51. voluptates agricolarum**: reckoned with the intellectual pleasures (49–50), and forming the theme of 51–59. The choice of Cato as the chief speaker in the dialogue made this emphasis upon the delights of farming inevitable. Cf. Intr., § 5, (3). — 3. **sapientis**: a term of the Stoics for the perfect philosopher, — a Stoic, of course. Cato himself would have preferred

dere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium nec cuiquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occaecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio, quae hoc efficit, nominata est, dein tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi

a hard-headed Roman of actual life to any ideal sage of Greek imagination. — 4. **rationem**: literally, 'an account'; with this commercial figure *imperium*, with its military metaphor, is inconsistent. One would rather look for the expression *fallere depositum* (Ovid, *Met.* 5, 480). — 5. **usura . . . faenore**: keeping up the mercantile figure. In real life Cato regarded the taking of interest as a high crime, and he cites with approval (*R.R. prooem.* 1) the ancient laws which punished the thief *dupli*, but the usurer *quadrupli*. — 6. **plerumque**: for the second *alias*. — 7. **Quamquam**: cf. on 47, 8. — 8. **terrae vis ac natura**: 'the natural forces of the earth'; on the hendiadys, cf. l. 11: *vapore et compressu*. — 8. **Quae**: *i.e. terra*. — 9. **subacto**: this was done sometimes with the plow, sometimes with the spade or hoe (*bipalium, pala, sarculum, ligo*); Cato, *R. R.* 45, 1: *Locus bipalio subactus siet;* cf. *ib.* 161: *Locum subigere oportet bene;* cf. below, 59, 14. — 9. **occaecatum**: lit. 'blinded,' *i.e.* 'darkened,' 'concealed.' — 10. **occatio**: *occare*, 'to harrow,' has, of course, nothing to do with *occaecare*. Cicero's etymology is not intended seriously. It was understood by the grammarians (Festus, p. 181 M.) to be playful. Cicero overlooks the fact that it was considered careless plowing, if the land required harrowing after the seed was in the ground (Columella, 2, 4, 2). — 11. **vapore**: 'heat.' — 11. **diffundit**: 'opens' (the seed). — 11. **herbescentem . . . viriditatem**: 'a greenness taking on the form of blades.' — 13. **culmo . . . geniculato**: 'a jointed stem'; abl. of means. — 13. **erecta**: middle sense. — 13. **vaginis**: 'sheaths,' concealing the undeveloped ear, *primitus spica cum oritur* (Varro, *R. R.* 1, 48, 1). From the plant

pubescens includitur; ex quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum.

**52.** Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur e terra; quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, vivira-

Cato has passed insensibly to the ear. — 14. **pubescens**: *i.e.* in its first maturity; cf. *adulescit*, l. 13. — 14. **fundit frugem**: 'brings forth the grain.' — 15. **spici**: for the usual fem. *spica* Cicero here uses *spicus* or *spicum*. — 15. **ordine**: 'regularity.' — 16. **munitur**: the change of subject is natural enough in a long sentence in conversation. For the figure, cf. on 49, 1.

**52. Quid . . . commemorem?** on the *praeteritio*, cf. on 24, 1; cf. 54, 1; 55, 1; 57, 1; 61, 9. — 1. **ego**: cf. on *ut . . . noscatis*, l. 2. — 1. **ortus, satus, incrementa**: singular in English in each case. — 2. **ut . . . noscatis**: not the purpose of *satiari . . . non possum*, but giving the motive which prompts Cato to speak of his delight in the culture of the vine (cf. on 56, 14; cf. 59, 5) — a fact with which Scipio and Laelius were well acquainted (hence *ego* of l. 1). — 3. **Omitto**: cf. *Quid*, above, l. 1. — 4. **vim ipsam**: 'native force' or 'energy.' — 4. **quae** (*ex fici*): the antecedent is rather *terra* (in spite of its position in a parenthesis) than *vim ipsam*, with which the verb *procreet* (l. 7) is less suitable than with *terra*. — 5. **acini vinaceo**: any berry growing in a cluster was called *acinus* (or *acinum*), hence the grape in particular, as here, while the seed of the grape was *vinaceum* (or *vinaceus*); cf. Columella, 11, 2, 69: *vinacea, quae acinis celantur*. — 7. **Malleoli**: 'mallets,' young shoots cut from a last year's branch, with a piece of the latter forming the head of the hammer (Columella, 3, 6, 3); the handle was called *sagitta* (*id.* 3, 10, 22). This method had been abandoned by the writers on vine-culture before the time of Cicero, in favor of simple exsection. The name, however, remained, while the thing had become identical with the *sarmentum* (*id.* 3, 17, 4; cf. *sarmentis* below, l. 13). The nursery of young vines was called

dices, propagines nonne efficiunt ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus quicquid est nacta complectitur; quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, ferro amputans, coërcet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnes partes nimia fundatur.

53. Itaque ineunte vere in eis quae relicta sunt, exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemma dicitur,

*vitiarium* (*id.* 3, 5, 1) or *seminarium* (*ib.* 14, 2), since cuttings, as well as seeds, were *semina*. — 7. **viviradices**: 'quicksets'; cf. Cato, *R. R.* 33, 3; the term is applied by Varro (*R. R.* 1, 35, 1), to rose-slips that have taken root. But for the vine it is contrasted with *malleoli*, and cannot, therefore, have been used in general of rooted cuttings ready to transplant from the nursery. All the words for cuttings in this passage fall under two heads (1) 'slips,' viz. *malleoli*, *sarmenta* (interchangeable terms eventually) and (2) 'shoots,' viz. *viviradices*, the comprehensive term, not limited to any one method of securing a root, and the special words *plantae*, *i.e.* from the root or stem of the parent vine, and *propagines*, 'layers.' Of the two methods (1) was in vogue in the provinces, while (2) was most esteemed in Italy; cf. Columella, 3, 14, 2. — 8. **nonne efficiunt ut . . . delectent?** not different in sense from the simple *nonne delectant?* — 8. **cum admiratione**: must not be confused with the simple ablative; it is pleasure *and* admiration. — 10. **eadem**: cf. on 4, 11. — 10. **claviculis**: 'tendrils'; a diminutive of *clavis*, 'key.' — 12. **serpentem**: ptcp. with the force of a temporal clause. — 12. **ferro**: *i.e.* the pruning-hook. — 13. **coërcet ars**: a personification less usual than in English; cf. 54, 10. — 13. **sarmentis**: abl. of manner or means.

53. **ineunte vere**: pruning (*putatio*) took place in the autumn in warm regions; but a spring pruning was preferred by most of the authorities, *e.g.* the Carthaginian Mago; cf. Intr., § 41; Columella, 4, 10, 1. — 1. **eis**: i.e. *sarmentis*. — 2. **tamquam**: inserted because *articulus* was still confined in ordinary use to men and animals; later (Pliny, Columella) it was freely transferred to plants; but *artus* of plants is extremely rare; cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 14, 13. — 2. **ea quae gemma dicitur**: the familiar attraction of pronouns to predicate, for *id quod*, etc. — 2. **gemma**: 'bud' is the orig-

a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, dein maturata dulcescit vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum aspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat, adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea, quam dixi,

inal meaning; 'gem,' 'jewel,' is later. — 5. **nec . . . caret et . . . defendit**: this balanced mode of expression often occurs in Latin (true to its love of symmetry) where other languages would use 'without' (or its equivalent) and a verbal noun in place of the *nec*-clause; cf. on 13, 12 (no such balance as here). — 7. **fructu laetius**: cf. 57, 3: *usu uberius . . . specie ornatius;* the adj. has an active sense; cf. Ennius (in *T. D.* 1, 69):

*Vités laetificae pámpinis pubéscere.*

But *laetus* in this meaning was not confined to literature; *laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt* (*de Oratore*, 3, 155). Cf. 54, 7. — 8. **utilitas**: on Cato's entirely practical aims in agriculture, cf. Intr., §§ 13, 42, 43. A century after Cato's time the cultivation of the vine in Italy became one of the chief sources of its wealth, and far more profitable for the owner than grain (cf. Columella, 3, 3, 2). — 8. **ut ante dixi**: viz. 51, 7. — 8. **natura ipsa**: cf. 52, 4: *vim ipsam.* — 9. **adminiculorum ordines**: 'rows of props, or stakes' (also *ridicae, pedamenta*), *i.e.* not connected to form an arbor (*pergula, umbraculum*). The modes of supporting the vines were probably as different in different parts of Italy then as they are now. Training them upon trimmed trees (elm, poplar, ash, maple) Cicero omits to mention, except as *capitum iugatio* applies to this mode as much as to any other. — 9. **capitum iugatio**: the *capita* are not the tops of the stakes (for that interpretation — otherwise a good one — would exclude the method just named), but the highest branches of the vines (according to Columella's definition, 3, 10, 1). For *iugatio* cf. Varro, *R. R.* 1, 8, 1: *quae transversa iunguntur, iuga* [*dicuntur*]; *ab eo quoque vineae iugatae.* The *iugatio* was *derecta, i.e.* in a straight line only, or more commonly *compluviata* (Varro, *l.c.* 2), *i.e.* crosswise as well, forming an actual arbor or *pergula.* — 9. **religatio**: the verbal noun is found only here in extant Latin. — 10. **propagatio**: cf. *pro-*

aliorum amputatio, aliorum inmissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior?

54. Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? — dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi — de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit, Laërtam lenientem desiderium quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus

*pagines*, 52, 8; if used in the strict sense we have 'layering' in contrast with 'binding up,' 'tying' (*religatio*); if in a more general sense, of any branch, the meaning (cf. Gellius, 10, 15, 13) differs but little from *inmissio*. — 11. **inmissio**: the branch is given free rein, as it were, and allowed to bear. — 11. **Quid . . . proferam**: cf. on 52, 1. — 11. **irrigationes**: the art was learned by the Romans from its past-masters, the Etruscans. — 12. **repastinationes**: *pastinum*, a two-pronged implement (*ferramentum bifurcum*, Columella, 3, 18, 1), has given its name to the process.

54. **Quid . . . loquar**: cf. on 52, 1. — 1. **stercorandi**: the discoverer of this practice in Italy was supposed by the rustics to be a god, and naïvely named Stercutus, Stercutius, Sterculus, Sterculinius (cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 17, 50; Isidore, *Origg.* 17, 1, 3; 2, 3; cf. App.). — 1. **in eo libro**: cf. Intr., §§ 41 ff.; *R. R.* 29, 36, and many other passages. The sum of Cato's wisdom on the subject he put in this oracular form (61, 1), '*Quid est agrum bene colere?*' *Bene arare.* '*Quid secundum?*' *Arare.* '*Quid tertium?*' *Stercorare.* — 2. **de rebus rusticis**: instead of the exact title *de Agri Cultura*. The book was also cited as *de Re Rustica*, and still is more generally known under that name. Varro's work bore the title *Rerum Rusticarum Libri*. — 2. **doctus**: without *ille vir*, because a standing epithet, like *Laelius Sapiens*. — 3. **de cultura agri**: *i.e.* in his *Works and Days*. — 4. **Homerus**: *Od.* 24, 226–7. A better Homeric example would have been *ib.* 17, 297–9; cf. below, l. 6. — 4. **saeculis**: in same meaning as in 24, 10; 25, 5. — 5. **lenientem**: cf. on 11, 9. — 6. **stercorantem**: this is not expressly stated by Homer, but inferred from λιστρεύοντα, 'digging about.' Pliny so understood it, for in *N. H.* 17, 50, Laertes is a *regius senex agrum ita laetificans suis manibus*. — 6. **facit**: cf. on 3, 6; ποιέω (cf. ποιητής) was used

solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agri cultura sollertius.

XVI. 55. Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum, sed haec ipsa quae dixi sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rusticarum rerum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphavisset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis. Cuius quidem ego villam contemplans (abest enim non longe a

in the same way. — 7. **pratis**: including the hay crop. The complaint that *prata* were displacing *segetes* was not new in the time of Varro (*R. R.* 2, *prooem.* 4). — 7. **arbustis**: most important among these would be the olive-yards (*oliveta*), for the olive was one of the chief products of Italy, and its cultivation described in great detail by Cato. For orchards, cf. *pomariis* (l. 8). Vines trained upon trees (*arbusta*) call for no separate mention after *vinea*. — 7. **laetae**: cf. on 53, 7. — 8. **pecudum pastu**: here put in a lower rank than *segetes*, *vineae*, and the rest. In reality many great landlords gave up vast estates to their flocks and herds; cf. Varro, *l.c.* — 10. **insitiones**: 'grafting'; Cato had given instructions for grafting the vine, pear, apple, olive, and fig (*R. R.* 40–42). — 10. **invenit agri cultura**: cf. on 52, 13.

**55. Possum persequi permulta**: alliteration; cf. below, l. 5. On the indic. and the *praeteritio*, cf. on 24, 1. — 1. **rerum rusticarum**: 'country life.' — 2. **sentio**: 'realize.' — 3. **studio**: 'interest.' — 4. **ne . . . videar**: cf. on 52, 2; cf. 46, 6. — 5. **vitiis videar vindicare**: alliteration again. — 6. **cum . . . triumphavisset**: 'after his triumphs'; cf. on 50, 4; Hale, *op. cit.* p. 229. — 8. **villam**: a simple farmhouse is meant. There were no luxurious villas in the time of Curius. Cato visited the farmhouse of Curius frequently, almost as a place of pilgrimage, and found there fresh inspiration for renewed austerity in his own life; cf. Intr., § 13; Plut., *Cato*, 2. In a similar spirit Seneca visited the unpreten-

me) admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum sedenti [56] magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare. Poteratne tantus animus non efficere iucundam senectutem?

**56.** Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes, siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum; cuius dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum adpetentem occupatum

tious villa of the Elder Scipio at Liternum (*Ep.* 86), where olive trees planted by the hand of Scipio still remained (Pliny, *N. H.* 16, 234). — 10. **Curio ad focum**: the story is abruptly introduced as evidence of Curius's *continentia*. — 11. **auri pondus**: the war was over, and the gift was brought by the Samnites, now his clients (*quondam hostium, tum iam clientium suorum, dona repudiaverat*, *Rep.* 3, 40 *fin.*). — 13. **Poteratne**: Cicero recognizes that the anecdote about Curius has been a digression. The present question and the following sentence, *Sed venio ad agricolas* . . ., recall the reader first to the general subject of old age, and then to the special argument in regard to farming.

**56. venio ad**: cf. 32, 1: *redeo ad me.* — 1. **In agris erant**: 'lived on their farms'; cf. 60, 5. — 2. **tum**: very indefinite here, — 'in those times.' — 2. **senes**: cf. 19, 10. — 2. **siquidem**: 'since'; assumed cause (*i.e.* condition) and real cause have become identical; cf. on 41, 8. — 2. **aranti**: the four *iugera* which made the entire *ager* of Cincinnatus, lay across the Tiber, in the meadows (later *Prata Quinctia*, from the gentile name of the dictator or his ancestors) at the foot of the Janiculum. But he had a house in the city also; cf. Livy, 3, 26, 8 ff.; Pliny, *N. H.* 18, 20. — 5. **regnum**: 'kingly power.' — 5. **occupatum interemit**: 'surprised and slew,' according to the constant Latin habit of reducing to a ptcp. (in the passive, if necessary) what other languages express by coördinate verbs. The story was frequently told by Cicero, since it was a precedent in his favor in the heated controversy as to the constitutionality of his action in executing fellow-conspirators of

interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo, qui eos arcessebant, viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, qua dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium, quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni

Catiline without trial. Ahala was accounted a *liberator rei publicae;* cf. Livy, 4, 14, 7. — **6. A villa in senatum**: the abandonment of country life for the city had been slow among the early Romans. The *vir bonus* had been identical with the *bonus agricola* (Cato, *R. R. prooem.* 2). Many distinguished names preserved to a late date the memory of rustic ancestors, *e.g. Porcius*, *Ovinius*, *Asinius*, *Asina*, *Taurus*, *Vitulus* (cf. Varro, *R. R.* 2, 1, 10). — **7. viatores**: the same explanation is given by Columella, 1, *praef.* 19, and Pliny, *N. H.* 18, 21. — **8. horum**: first person; *i.e.* of those I have mentioned as amusing themselves with agriculture. — **9. cultione**: very rare for *cultura;* first in Cicero, and after him not again until the end of the third century. **9. haud scio an nulla**: 'am inclined to believe that none'; or more briefly, 'there is perhaps none'; cf. 73, 7; 74, 6. — **10. officio**: 'in respect to practical service'; for there is a part to perform, and a useful one. — **12. sed**: the usual *etiam* is omitted, as often in Cicero. — **12. et . . . et**: 'as well . . . as,' — to balance the pure pleasure of farming against the store of good things produced, and prepare the way for his reconciliation with *voluptas.* — **12. qua**: not for *quam* (a kind of attraction used by some other writers, but not by Cicero, except with a preceding demonstrative). It is a case of ellipsis, *qua* [*eam quemvis delectare*] *dixi.* Cf. App. — **13. ad cultum . . . deorum**: *i.e.* by providing first-fruits, victims for sacrifice, wine for libations. Cato's book on farming has much to say about religious ceremonies, especially in chaps. 83, 132, 134, 139 ff.; cf. Intr., § 42. — **14. ut . . . redeamus**: may be taken as result, but better as the purpose, not of anything expressed, but of the speaker in thus expressing him-

assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam operis aucupium atque venatio.

self; cf. on 52, 2. — 16. **cella vinaria**: not 'wine-cellar,' except in the loosest translation, for the *cella* was above ground, often in the upper part of the house. A north exposure was recommended by the architects (Vitruvius, 6, 6 [9]; cf. Varro, *R. R.* 1, 13, 7). — 16. **olearia**: this and the *cella vinaria* were of the greatest importance, — the only *cellae* mentioned by Cato in his list of necessary farm-buildings (*R. R.* 3, 2; cf. Varro, *R. R.* 1, 13, 6; Columella, 1, 6, 9). A warm exposure was recommended (Varro, *l.c.* § 7; Vitruv. *l.c.*). — 16. **penaria**: Cato had praised the fertility of Sicily by calling it *cellam penariam rei publicae nostrae* (*Verr.* 2, 5). — 17. **villaque**: *villa rustica*, the farm buildings, as distinguished from *villa urbana*, the country-house of the owner (Cato, *R. R.* 3–4). — 17. **porco . . . gallina**: collective, of the living animals; their flesh would be *porcīna*, *haedīna*, *agnīna*, *caro gallinarum*. — 18. **Iam**: like *iam vero*, 'moreover'; cf. 72, 12; 74, 1; 81, 1. — 19. **succidiam alteram**: 'a second side of bacon,' *i.e.* as certain a dependence in any emergency as the supply of salted or smoked pork. The proverb is found nowhere else. As the derivation from *succīdo* shows, *succīdia* was a piece cut off. It was hung upon the *carnarium* to be smoked. Whether because pork was long the only meat smoked or salted, or from a false etymology (as though from *sus* and *caedo*, Varro, *L. L.* 5, 110), the word was confined to pork, and meant a 'side' or 'flitch of bacon'; Varro, *R. R.* 2, 4, 3, and §§ 10–11 (quoting Cato). In a figurative sense Cato, in an oration, used it of a brutal and wholesale murder (Gellius, 13, 25, 12). A connection with *succedo* was at least sometimes assumed; as by Nonius (170, 25 M.): *Succidiam, successionem necessariam*, quoting this place. — 19. **Conditiora**: cf. *condīta*, 10, 3. — 19. **facit**: becomes passive in English, as inversion of the voice is necessary, that an effective order of words may be kept. — 20. **supervacaneis . . . operis**: 'by spare-hour occupations,' with some suggestion of employments held in reserve, — not required by the routine of the estate. Hunting was a favorite sport of the Romans.

**57.** Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi praecidam: agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius; ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque adlectat senectus. Vbi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius?

**58.** Habeant igitur sibi arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus, nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras, id ipsum

**57. Quid . . . plura dicam?** a partial *praeteritio*; cf. on 52, 1. — 1. **ordinibus**: implied already in 54, 7: *arbustis*; cf. below, 59, 13 and 18. — 2. **olivetorumve**: considering the important place given by Cato to the olive in his own book, it occupies in Cicero's dialogue a rather secondary position; cf. on 54, 7. — 3. **praecidam**: with an object (*sermonem*, *orationem*, *argumentum*) suppressed, as in *Praecide, inquit, Acad.* 2, 133. — 3. **usu uberius**: cf. 53, 7: *fructu laetius*. — 4. **specie ornatius**: cf. *ib.*: *aspectu pulchrius*. — 4. **ad quem fruendum**: the old accusative construction with *fruor*, *utor*, and the rest, is classical (in oblique cases) when the gerundive is employed; H. 623, 1; L. 2244; A. 296, R.; G. 427, n. 5; B. 339, 4. The *ad*-construction with a verb of hindering is rather frequent in Caesar (cf. *B. G.* 7, 26, 2: *palus . . . Romanos ad insequendum tardabat*; L. 2252; G. 432, R.). Here it serves with the more important *invitat* as well. — 5. **adlectat**: simply strengthening the idea already expressed in *invitat*. — 6. **apricatione**: a rare word, though the thing was common enough.

**58. Habeant**: sc. *iuvenes*. — 1. **hastas**: cf. 19, 8 f.; the exercises are those practised at Rome, not in the country. The contrast is double. — 2. **clavam**: recruits at drill used a club instead of a sword. A bat was never used with the *pila*. — 2. **pilam**: the Greek game became a great favorite at Rome, and was played even by old men. The Younger Pliny (*Ep.* 3, 1, 8) tells of a man of seventy-seven who still played; *nam hoc quoque exercitationis genere pugnat cum senectute* (cf. 35, 11). — 3. **talos**: 'knuckle-bones,' with four sides flat and numbered. the other two sides rounded. — 3. **tesseras**: not different from our dice. Gaming was forbidden, but overlooked at the Saturnalia,

utrum libebit, quoniam sine eis beata esse senectus potest.

XVII. 59. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt; quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperi gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis adtulis-

and in the case of old men. Augustus (Suet. 70–71) and other emperors were much addicted to gambling. — 3. **id ipsum**: comprehends the whole question of keeping to themselves, or giving up to us. In a fuller expression of the thought, we might have disjunctive clauses instead of *id ipsum*, e.g. *utrum libebit, sive nobis relinquere sive sibi habere, faciant* (cf. last example in next note). — 4. **utrum**: here an indefinite relative, 'whichever,' *i.e. utrumcumque* (or *utcumque*). This use can be readily illustrated from Cicero, *e.g. Div.* 2, 141: *Potest omnino hoc esse falsum, potest verum; sed, utrum est, non est mirabile; Verr.* 2, 150 *fin.: Utrum tibi commodum est, elige; ib.* 3, 106: *Utrum enim horum dixeris, in eo culpa et crimen haerebit; pro Tullio* 28: *Utrum enim ostendere potest, sive . . . sive . . ., vincat necesse est*; cf. App.

59. 2. **legite**: here of repeated reading. — 2. **ut facitis**: cf. *T. D.* 2, 62: *semper Africanus . . . Xenophontem in manibus habebat.* — 3. **in eo libro**: *i.e. Oecon.* 4, 20–25. — 3. **de tuenda re familiari**: a Latin version of the Greek title. — 4. **Oeconomicus**: this work of Xenophon Cicero had translated in his youth. The latter part, dealing with agriculture, was one of Vergil's authorities (along with Mago, Cato, and Varro) in writing the Georgics, and he appears to have used Cicero's translation (Servius on *Georg.* 1, 43), as did Columella, 12, 2, 6. — 5. **ut intellegatis**: cf. on 52, 2; not the purpose of Socrates. — 6. **loquitur**: for no obvious reason *loqui* with acc. and infin. is rare, and very rare with a definite subject; cf. G. 527, R. 2. — 7. **regem**: 'prince,' with no added notion of pretender; Xenophon calls him βασιλεύς (*Oecon.* 4, 16). — 9. **virtutis**: 'capacity. —

set, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et derectos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum, qui adflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam eius a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse: 'Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio, multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque

**9. Sardis**: acc. of the place to which, for in all such cases the Latin has in mind the journey to the place, rather than the meeting of the persons at the place. — **9. sociis**: meaning Sparta and the other cities allied against Athens in the Peloponnesian War. From Cyrus he received much more than he gave in the *dona* mentioned here. — **10. et ceteris . . . et**: cf. 4. 2: *cum ceterarum rerum . . . tum;* cf. 60, 2. — **11. consaeptum agrum**: παράδεισος is thus translated, — such as Xenophon mentions also in the *Anabasis* (1, 2, 7; 2, 4, 14), though the anecdote relates to the garden proper, and not to the game-preserve, which usually formed the chief feature of a παράδεισος. But cf. *Oecon.* 4, 13: κῆποι . . . οἱ παράδεισοι καλούμενοι, κτλ. — **13. in quincuncem**: *i.e.* in diagonal rows. The name was taken from the ⁙, which in the older notation stood for *quincunx*, $\frac{5}{12}$ (later = = –). On dice, the same sign stood for 5, since in the duodecimal system $\frac{5}{12}$ may be treated as 5 units. A grove of trees thus planted was itself called *quincunx* (cf. Quint. 8, 3, 9: *Quid illo quincunce speciosius . . .* ?). — **14. subactam**: cf. on 51, 9. — **14. puram**: 'well-kept,' 'well-cleared'; of the same origin with *puto, -are*, 'to clean,' 'to prune' (out of which all the more familiar meanings are derived). — **17. dimensa**: passive; cf. on 4, 12. — **17. discripta**: *discribo* implies separation, and means 'to allot,' 'apportion,' 'distribute'; *describo* is 'to design,' 'plot,' 'chart'; cf. 49, 8. If the distribution of the trees had been indicated on a sketch-plan, either word could have been used. — **18. ista . . . omnia**: 'all that you see.' — **21. ornatumque Persicum**:

gemmis dixisse: 'Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est.'

**60.** Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus, nec aetas impedit quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset acta iam aetate in agris eosque coleret; cuius inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita, quantum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque huius extrema aetas hoc

the sumptuousness of Persian dress made a great impression upon the Greeks. — **21. auro . . . gemmis**: abl. of quality. — **23. virtuti . . . fortuna**: in contrast with the abstract employed by Cicero, Xenophon (*l.c.* § 25) had been entirely concrete, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς, a literal translation of which is impossible in Latin, lacking as it does the pres. ptcp. of *esse*.

**60. Hac igitur fortuna**: in close connection with 59, 23: *fortuna*, but also summing up all the happiness to be found in the country (51–59 inc.). A translation must preserve the emphasis so important in the opening words of a concluding paragraph. — **2. et ceterarum rerum et**: cf. 59, 10. — **3. studia**: 'interest in' (singular in English), or 'pursuit of.' — **4. accepimus**: cf. on 13, 7. The example is cleverly used as an easy transition to Cato's next point, viz. *auctoritas*. — **5. perduxisse**: the object is *agri colendi studia* supplied from above. — **5. cum esset . . . coleret**: the clause is only the equivalent of a pres. ptcp., *e.g.* *ruri habitantem agrosque colentem;* cf. on 50, 4; 49, 9. — **5. acta iam aetate**: abl. abs.; for the more usual *exacta aetate*. — **6. sex et quadraginta**: by our reckoning (after Varro, not Cato) it was 49 years (348–299). Remarkable also was the interval of 35 years between his fourth and fifth consulships. — **8. ad senectutis initium**: the age of exemption (46th year) marked the beginning of the *aetas senioris* (45–60), often loosely reckoned with *senectus;* cf. on 4, 15. — **9. cursus honorum**: 'official career.' The phrase usually includes all the offices held in regular order. Here the lesser offices (quaestorship, aedileship, praetorship) are neglected as unworthy of mention in comparison

beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus; apex est autem senectutis auctoritas.

**61**. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello, quanta in A. Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium: —

*Hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes*
*Populi primarium fuisse virum.*

Notum est totum carmen incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cuius de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens.

with the extraordinary number of consulships, and the long interval between the first and the last. — 9. **atque**: introducing the transition to a new subject, *i.e. auctoritas* (61–64). — 9. **huius**: 'in his case.' — 10. **auctoritatis**: the weight carried by his opinion on any public question, his influence, and the respect he commanded. — 11. **apex**: *i.e.* 'crown'; *corona* is not found in this figurative sense, and *apex* so used is very rare. Literally it was the spike of olive-wood on the flamen's cap.

**61. Quanta fuit**: the exclamatory mode of citing examples; so below, l. 7: *Quem virum*, etc. — 2. **elogium**: ἐλεγεῖον, Latinized; here in its most usual sense, of an inscription on a tomb; also used of an inscription on the pedestal of a statue. — 3. **Hunc unum**: the inscription in the old Saturnian metre is very similar to the extant epitaph of L. Cornelius Scipio, grandfather of Africanus, which, if modernized (as in the text) would read: —

*Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt*
*R[omani]*
*Bonorum optimum fuisse virum,*

— six verses in all, the probable number for the inscription in the text; cf. C.I.L. I. 32; *Fin.* 2, 116. — 3. **gentes**: *i.e.* 'clans' (patrician); but the expression comprehends all good Romans, as in the Scipio inscription; cf. *omnium* below, l. 6. — 4. **Populi**: with *primarium virum*. — 5. **totum**: six or seven verses at most. — 5. **carmen**: *i.e. elogium*. — 5. **incisum**: early Roman epitaphs were painted on the stone in red, — a custom which survived among the poor even down to Christian times, for in the catacombs many such are found (on tiles). Engraving was the practice by the time of Cato, but the letters were often colored red. — 5. **sepulcro**: on the Appian Way near the *Porta Capena*, not far from other celebrated family tombs, as those of the Scipios, Metelli, Servilii (*T. D.* 1, 13; *Fin. l.c.*). — 6. **gravis**: 'a man of

Quem virum nuper P. Crassum, pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum, eodem sacerdotio praeditum, vidimus! Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar aut iam ante de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus honorata praesertim tantam auctoritatem ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates.

XVIII. **62**. Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur, id quod ego magno quondam cum adsensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem quae se oratione defenderet. Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem adripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos.

weight (influence)'. — 6. **cuius . . . esset**: cf. on 2, 11. — 7. **Quem virum . . . vidimus!** cf. on l. 1, above; cf. Ter., *Phorm.* 367: *At quém virum! quem ego viderim . . . óptumum.* — 9. **Quid . . . loquar**: cf. on 52, 1. — 9. **iam ante**: 'even,' *i.e.* 'first'; not a reference to 10–12; cf. App. — 11. **nutu**: in contrast with the formal expression of an opinion (*sententia*). — 11. **honorata**: cf. on 22, 4; the old age of a man who has gone through the *cursus honorum* (60, 9). — 12. **pluris sit**: 'is worth more.' — 12. **quam . . . voluptates**: serves to recall the connection to the mind of the reader; that *auctoritas* has been brought in as more than an equivalent for those *voluptates* which age must resign; cf. 64, 5–6.

**62. oratione**: *i.e. sermone*, 'discourse.' — 1. **eam . . . quae**: 'only such . . . as.' — 2. **quae . . . constituta sit**: characteristic clause; cf. 61, 6, and below, ll. 4–5. — 2. **adulescentiae**: subj. gen., 'which youth has laid.' The steady purpose and effort implied are in contrast to *adripere*, l. 6. — 3. **quondam**: Cato means in some oration of his, which, is not known. — 5. **oratione**: 'in words.' — 5. **defenderet**: 'must defend.' — 5. **cani**: sc. *capilli*, the omission of which is intended not so much to give a poetic coloring, as to secure the terseness of an apothegm. — 6. **adripere**: suggesting haste, and a sudden desire to appropriate that which should have been slowly and honestly acquired. — 7. **fructus . . . extremos**: 'as its final harvest.'

**63.** Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legati cum essent, certo in loco

— 7. **auctoritatis**: the gen. shows in what the *fructus* consist.

**63. Haec . . . ipsa**: 'these [distinctions] in themselves.' — 1. **honorabilia**: cf. below, l. 6: *honestissimum*; l. 8: *honoratior*. In the quest for synonyms Cicero has here used a word found nowhere else in classical Latin. — 2. **communia**: not 'common' in the sense of 'vulgar,' but 'enjoyed by many,' 'indiscriminate.' — 2. **salutari . . .**: in this series of infinitives two (*decedi*, *adsurgi*) are impersonal, while all the others are personal. This is not harsh in Latin, for the infin., even when not historical, often indicates an action in its last analysis, stripped of everything which the reader can supply for himself. No people valued more highly such formal attentions as the morning call, escort to the Forum or senate-house (*deduci*) and back. — 4. **ut quaeque**: 'in proportion as.' — 5. **Lysandrum**: again the abrupt mode of citing an example; cf. on 21, 2; 33, 5. — 5. **modo**: *i.e.* 59, 8 ff. — 8. **tribuitur**: 'is conceded'; Cato, as it were, takes the words out of Lysander's mouth, and makes them his own. — 9. **ludis**: abl. of time at which; cf. *Brutus*, 73: *docuisse autem fabulam . . . ludis Iuventatis*. — 10. **magno consessu**: cf. *pro Sestio*, 120: *consessu maximo . . . egit*; the abl. abs. gives at once the circumstance and the cause (from the Athenian standpoint); but from Cato's standpoint (the Lacedaemonian, too), it is rather adversative, *i.e.* although there were thousands who might have shown the old man respect. — 12. **legati cum essent**: 'being ambassadors,' 'as ambassadors'; but the clause is, of course, causal. — 12. **certo**:

consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepisse. Quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus [64] esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex eis quendam Athenienses scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle.

64. Multa in vestro collegio praeclara, sed hoc de quo agimus in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet, neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed eis etiam qui cum imperio sunt, maiores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ei mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

'assigned' or 'reserved,' *i.e.* seats of honor. — 14. **sessum**: supine, since motion is implied in *recepisse*. — 14. **Quibus cum**: cf. on 2, 10. — 15. **multiplex**: is no more than 'repeated.'

**64. collegio**: which priestly college is meant is shown later in the sentence by *augures* (l. 5). — 1. **hoc de quo agimus**: 'the very point of which we are speaking'; viz. the influence and precedence conceded to old age. — 2. **ut quisque . . .**: 'in the order of age'; cf. 63, 4. — 3. **sententiae**: cf. 61, 10. — 3. **honore**: *i.e.* official position in general, in contrast with *cum imperio*. — 4. **cum imperio**: the authority, civil as well as military, which constituted *imperium*, was bestowed only upon dictators, *magistri equitum*, consuls, praetors, and provincial governors, and enjoyed by them during their term of office only; cf. Abbott, *op. cit.* §§ 149, 154, 159. — 6. **quibus qui**: cf. on 2, 10. — 7. **usi sunt**: 'have enjoyed'; the point is not the use made of such distinctions, but the mere fact of having received them. — 7. **fabulam**: cf. 70, 1: *Neque . . . peragenda fabula est*; 85, 11: *peractio tamquam fabulae*. Comparisons from the theatre were very frequently drawn by the philosophers, *e.g.* Seneca (*ad Marc. de Cons.* 10, 1; *Ep.* 76, 31, etc.) and Epictetus (as *Ench.* 17); cf. 5, 5 f. — 8. **peregisse**: without an adverb to qualify it, as *vivere* is often pregnant, *i.e.* of a good life. — 8. **histriones**: actors were usually slaves trained for the stage by their owner, the manager of the troupe (*dominus gregis*). — 9. **actu**: a

**65.** At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur; contemni se putant, despici, inludi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus, idque cum in vita, tum in scaena intellegi potest ex

Roman play was not originally divided by pauses into distinct acts. An artificial division was introduced by the grammarians. The audience in most cases recognized a succession of scenes only, not grouped into acts. Cicero's expression here, accordingly, means something less definite than its translation in English; cf. on 5, 6.

**65. At sunt**: the remainder of Cato's answer to the third charge considers the objection that many men have faults which lose them the respect of which he has been speaking. Cato concedes a still worse fault (*avaritia*), by way of proving that age itself is not responsible for any of them. — 1. **morosi**: corresponds to that use of *mos* in which the word was applied to the individualities, the peculiar ways, whims, and caprices of men; cf. *morositas* below, l. 3. — 1. **difficiles**: cf. on 7, 14. — 2. **quaerimus**: not 'look for them' (they are not hard to find), but in a general sense of looking more closely into the subject. — 2. **morum**: cf. on 7, 13 (*in moribus est culpa, non in aetate*). — 3. **habent**: 'admit of'; a recognized use of this verb; things which admit of comparison are said *habere comparationem*; cf. *T. D.* 5, 38 *fin.*; cf. below, 67, 5, where 'admit of' is 'be subject to,' as an estate subject to the civil law was said *habere ius civile*; cf. *pro Flacco*, 80; Nägelsbach, *op. cit.* p. 439. — 4. **non illius quidem . . . sed**: in this form of concession Cicero is very fond of the unnecessary, but not altogether idle, *ille* before *quidem*. If a 1st or 2d person is required, *hic* or *iste*, or a personal pronoun (or *equidem*), takes the place of *ille*; cf. on 8, 5; H. 507, 5; L. 2361; G. 307, R. 4. — 5. **probari**: not implying complete approval, but an excuse which will pass. — 5. **contemni . . ., despici, inludi**: a climax, for *despicere* is more serious than *contemnere* (cf. Nonius, 436, 25 M.); the latter does not always suggest a conscious slight. — 7. **bonis**: the order throws it with *artibus* not less than with *moribus*. —

eis fratribus qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis aetas naturave vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam, sicut alia, modicam, acerbitatem nullo modo. Avaritia vero senilis quid [66] sibi velit, non intellego; potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quo viae minus restat, eo plus viatici quaerere?

## IV

XIX. **66**. Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, adpropinquatio

9. **fratribus**: Demea and Micio by name, the former a hard-working, anxious father, the latter an easy-going bachelor. — 9. **Adelphis**: the last of Terence's six plays, performed at the funeral games of Aemilius Paulus (160 B.C.). The allusion would thus have the appearance of recalling to Scipio's mind the last scenes of his father's life. — 9. **altero . . . altero**: the strict father, and the indulgent uncle, respectively. — 10. **Sic**: looking forward, as regularly in this expression when emphasized as here. *Sic se res habet* is often followed in Cicero by a comparison, as with *ut . . . sic*; cf. *Brutus*, 192; *de Orat.* 2, 23. — 10. **enim**: here mildly affirmative, and requiring no translation. So often in *at enim*, and in general very frequently in older Latin. *Nam* is used in the same way, *e.g.* in *Brutus*, 71, apparently; Nägelsbach, *op. cit.* p. 728. — 11. **aetas**: cf. App. — 12. **Severitatem**: regularly a good quality in Latin. Its excess, English 'severity,' is usually *tristitia*, but here *acerbitas*; cf. Tac., *Agricola*, 9. — 13. **quid sibi velit**: 'what . . . means,' or 'what is the object of.' — 15. **viatici**: properly everything needful for a journey, but usually limited to money, except where the outfit of a magistrate is in question; cf. Livy, 44, 22, 13: *nave, equo, tabernaculo, viatico etiam a me iuvabitur*.

**66. causa**: not a *vituperatio*, as in the case of the third charge, 39, 1; the subject does not admit of such scorn, and the accusation is admitted, l. 3. — 2. **habere**: with a perf. ptcp. is 'to keep' in the state indicated by the ptcp.; H. 431, 3; L. 1606; A. 292, *c*; G. 238. —

mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit ubi sit futurus aeternus; atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest.

67. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo plures quam nostra casus mortis habet; facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, tristius curantur.

3. **esse longe**: *i.e. abesse longe.* For the thought, cf. Fronto, *ad Amicos*, 2, 7 (Naber, p. 197): *Adulescentiae, iuventuti prolixa vitae curricula data sunt, . . . senectus crepusculum est, quod longum esse non potest.* — 5. **viderit**: characteristic clause; cf. *sit*, l. 7. — 5. **neglegenda**: this will be the argument of 67–76 inclusive, on the theory of annihilation. — 6. **omnino**: 'completely.' — 6. **optanda**: developed in 77–84 inclusive, with the assumption that the soul is immortal. — 7. **aeternus**: not without happiness, as the context shows. — 7. **tertium**: the undesirable *tertium quid*, an immortal, but unhappy, existence, is ignored because Cicero has in mind only those whose lives had been virtuous, and in any case considered the stories of punishment in the lower world as mere fables, — *poetarum et pictorum portenta, T. D.* 1, 11; cf. *ib.* § 10; *ib.* § 48: *quae est anus tam delira quae timeat ista*, etc.

67. 2. **Quamquam**: cf. 69, 1, and on 1, 7. — 3. **quamvis**: 'howsoever.' — 3. **exploratum**: certainty as to fact is thus expressed, while certainty as to one's purpose is *certum est mihi.* — 3. **ad vesperum**: for the exact meaning, cf. *Lael.* 12: *domum reductus ad vesperum est*, *i.e.* 'at nightfall'; while 'until evening' would usually be *usque ad vesperum.* There was a proverb *quid vesper ferat (vehat) incertum est*; cf. Livy, 45, 8, 6. One of Varro's Satires (Büch. 333) bore the title *Nescis quid vesper serus vehat.* On the general thought, cf. Varro, *ib.* 222:

*Proptèr cunam capulúm positum*
*Nutrix tradit pollictori.*

— lines suggesting the last scene of Rostand's *l'Aiglon.* Cf. also

Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem; quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est; qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuissent.

68. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum adulescentia esse commune? Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in [68] exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. At sperat adulescens diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro

Seneca, *Ep.* 30, 17: *Ab ipsa* [*morte*] *enim semper tantundem absumus.* — 5. **habet**: for the meaning, cf. on 65, 3. — 6. **tristius**: *i.e.* a more heroic treatment is needed. — 7. **quod ni**: cf. 35, 5; 82, 14; cf. 31, 8: *quod si.* — 8. **Mens . . . consilium**: cf. 19, 9; 41, 6. — 9. **qui si nulli**: cf. on 46, 3: *qui pauci.*

**68. Quod**: *i.e. quale.* — 2. **istud**: 2d person; the antagonists are imagined to be present. — 2. **cum adulescentia . . . commune**: cf. Seneca, *ad Marc. de Cons.* 21, 7: *In hoc omnes errore versamur, ut non putemus ad mortem nisi senes . . . vergere, cum illo* [i.e. *illuc*] *infantia statim et iuventa, omnis aetas ferat.* — 3. **filio**: cf. Intr., §§ 12 and 32. — 4. **exspectatis**: *i.e.* by people in general. As the verb is often followed by *dum*, 'until,' the ptcp. adj. can be joined with *ad;* but the constr. seems to be found only here. — 4. **fratribus**: cf. Index of Persons, *s.v. Aemilius.* The cruel blow which fell upon Paulus at the very time of his triumph was made still heavier by the fact that no heir remained to him. The elder sons had passed by adoption into other families, and bore the names of Fabius Maximus and Cornelius Scipio. The baffled hopes to which Cicero refers in *exspectatis ad . . .* are thus expressed by Livy (45, 40, 8): *quos praetextatos curru vehi cum patre, sibi ipsos similis praedestinantis triumphos, oportuerat.* The whole story was a favorite example of the fickleness of fortune. — 5. **communem**: cf. Seneca, *ad Marc. de Cons.* 21, 7: *mors sub ipso vitae nomine latet, . . . Incrementa ipsa, si bene computes, damna sunt.* — 5. **At**: anticipated objection; cf. below, l. 8; also on 21, 1. The refutation (l. 7) takes the briefest form. — 6. **quod . . . idem**: cf. below, 71, 4. —

certis habere, falsa pro veris? At senex ne quod speret quidem habet. At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens, cum id quod ille sperat, hic consecutus est; ille volt diu vivere, hic diu vixit.

**69**. Quamquam, o di boni! quid est in hominis natura diu? Da enim supremum tempus, exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem — fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnavit annos, centum viginti vixit — sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum. Cum enim id advenit, tum illud quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum remanet quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis; horae quidem

8. **At . . . At**: *occupatio* and *refutatio* introduced by the same adversative; cf. 35, 1–2. — 10. **cum . . . consecutus est**: the *cum*-clause is not strictly causal, but explanatory, and equivalent to the more usual *quod*-clause, 'in that,' 'the fact that.' This usage is especially common in expressions of joy, gratitude, congratulation, or after *eo* and *quo;* Lübbert, *Syntax von Quom*, pp. 101 ff.; Hale, *op. cit.* p. 302; L. 1875; cf. *ad Fam.* 9, 14, 3: *gratulor tibi cum tantum vales.*

**69. Quamquam**: as in 67, 2. — 2. **Tartessiorum**: Tartessus was an ancient Phoenician city near Cadiz (Gades) in Spain. — 3. **scriptum**: regular in citing the authority of a writer, here Herodotus (1, 163). — 5. **centum viginti**: to discuss longevity at length was no part of Cicero's purpose. Many examples were collected by the Elder Pliny (*N. H.* 7, 153–164), among them Terentia the wife of Cicero; cf. Intr., § 59. A work on the subject (*Macrobii*) was long ascribed to Lucian. — 6. **extremum**: cf. 5, 7; Seneca, *ad Marc. de Cons.* 21, 5: *Fixus est cuique terminus . . . Nec illum ulterius diligentia aut gratia promovebit.* — 7. **praeteriit, effluxit**: cf. 4, 17; Ovid, *Ars Am.* 3, 64: *Nec quae praeteriit hora redire potest.* — 7. **tantum**: 'only so much.' — 8. **horae . . . et . . et . . . et**: the flight of time Cicero here prefers to express in this effective manner with progression and polysyndeton, instead of employing the familiar proverb in one or the other of its forms, *e.g. volat . . . aetas* (*T. D.* 1, 76); *fugit inreparabile tempus* (Verg., *Georg.* 3, 284); *labitur aetas* (Ovid, *Ars Am.* 3, 65): *fluunt dies* (Seneca, *Ep.* 123, 10).

cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec quid sequatur sciri potest; quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus.

**70.** Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fabula est, modo, in quocumque fuerit actu, probetur, neque sapienti usque ad 'Plaudite' veniendum. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum; sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentiam significat ostenditque fructus futuros, reliqua autem tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt.

—11. **contentus**: the favorite figure was of the satisfied guest, as in Lucr. 3, 938: *Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis?* Cf. Horace, *Sat.* 1, 1, 118–119; below, 84, 6–8.

**70. histrioni . . . fabula**: cf. 64, 8; 85, 11; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 77, 20: *Quomodo fabula, sic vita non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit, refert;* M. Aurelius, 12, 36 (the last words of the *Thoughts*): "'But I have not finished the five acts, but only three of them.' Thou sayest well, but in life the three acts are the whole drama; for what shall be a complete drama is determined by him who was once the cause of its composition, and now of its dissolution: but thou art the cause of neither. Depart then satisfied, for he also who releases thee is satisfied" (Long). — 3. **'Plaudite'**: *i.e.* to the curtain. In the classical period of the drama a Roman play always closed with a call for applause, sometimes in this single word, more frequently in a less abbreviated form; cf. Quint. 6, 1, 52: *cum ventum est ad ipsum illud quo veteres tragoediae comoediaeque cluduntur, 'Plodite.'* Almost the last words of Augustus were a Greek equivalent for the *Plaudite;* cf. on 85, 11. — 5. **processerit**: a personal subject (*sapiens*, sc. *aetate*) would correspond with 21, 3: *cum aetate processisset;* but *aetas* itself may be supplied as subject. — 6. **verni temporis suavitate**: abstract for concrete, for the sake of variety as well as emphasis. — 9. **percipiendis**: cf. 24, 4; 33, 15;

**71.** Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic ut cum sua sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis exstinguitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut quo propius ad mortem accedam,

it is added to *demetendis*, to reënforce the limited meaning of the latter.

**71. Fructus**: with a different application of the same figure, Seneca (*Ep.* 104, 4) makes the *maximus fructus* of old age to be *securior sui tutela et vitae usus animosior*. — 1. **saepe dixi**: *i.e.* 9, 3 ff.; 62, 5–7. — 2. **memoria et copia**: *copia* is added to provide for the things which are still possessed and enjoyed, although acquired by past efforts, *i.e. ante parta bona*. — 3. **secundum naturam**: the Stoic teaching; cf. on 5, 3. — 3. **habenda**: 'to be reckoned.' — 4. **quod idem**: cf. 68, 6; 4, 11. — 7. **flammae vis**: cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 30, 14: *Ignis qui valentem materiam occupavit, aqua et interdum ruina exstinguendus est; ille qui alimentis deficitur, sua sponte subsidit*. — 8. **consumptus**: in a middle sense; the ordinary meaning being expressly excluded by *nulla adhibita vi*. — 9. **quasi**: here used (as very rarely) in a real comparison, instead of *quemadmodum*, or (less frequently) *tamquam*. (L. 2122, revised ed.; G. 602, n. 1). This has been counted as one of the conscious archaisms of the book; cf. Intr., § 21, n. 5. — 9. **vix evelluntur**: the amount of difficulty or effort implied in *vix* is purely relative. — 10. **si**: for *sin*; cf. 85, 6. — 10. **cocta**: *i.e.* by the sun; cf. Varro, *R. R.* 1, 7, 4: *eas* [*arbores*] . . . *sol ac luna coquont*; cf. 28, 7. — 11. **senibus maturitas**: cf. Seneca, *Ep. l.c.*: *Non dubitare autem se quin senilis anima in primis labris esset nec magna vi distraheretur a corpore*. — 11. **quae**: i.e. *maturitas*; but the figure changes from ripeness to the voyage nearly ended, the harbor in sight. — 12. **accedam**: subjv. by attraction to *videar*. —

quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

XX. **72**. Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur quoad munus offici exsequi et tueri possis * * mortemque contemnere; ex quo fit ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur: 'Senectute.' Sed vivendi

**13. in portum**: a reminiscence of *T. D.* 1, 118: *portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus. Quo utinam velis passis pervehi liceat!* Cf. Epictetus, 4, 10: 'death is the harbour for all; this is the place of refuge' (Long).

**72. terminus**: the familiar figure of the boundary-stone; cf. Seneca, *l.c.* on 69, 6; *pro Rabirio perd.* 29: *vitae termini.* — **2. recte**: not in a moral sense, nor yet of wisdom or prudence (as in Horace's *Rectius vives, Ode* 2, 10, 1); the idea is of a *normal* existence for the old man, of that which is in the order of nature; *recteque . . . possis* is interpreted by *Sed vivendi est finis optimus . . .* ll. 7–8 (note the resumptive *Sed*), in which the same thought is recast, and what was vaguely expressed in *recte* is made definite in *finis optimus*. To understand *vivitur* of holding on to life, instead of laying down its burdens voluntarily, conflicts with the prohibition of suicide below, 73, 1–4. — **2. munus offici**: cf. on 29, 2. — **2. tueri**: i.e. *sustinere;* cf. *T. D.* 5, 113: *geometriae munus tuebatur;* cf. 77, 7–8, 12. — **3. possis**: the indef. second person; cf. 9, 3; cf. 25, 9–10, where the indef. third person is used, and hence the indic. For the text, cf. App. — **3. animosior**: cf. Seneca, *l.c.* on 71, 1. — **4. Hoc illud est**: 'this is the meaning of.' The first person demonstrative *hoc* merely brings the old story (3d pers., or remote, demonstrative *illud*) into connection with the speaker's argument, with the necessary inference that an interpretation is intended. Cf. *Aeneid*, 7, 255:

*Hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum*
*Portendi generum*, etc.

*ib.* 272; *Div.* 1, 122. — **6. audaciter**: the unusual form for *audacter;* not an archaism, however (Intr., § 21, n. 5), for no certain instances of its use are known before the age of Cicero. The *eruditi* usually said *audacter;* cf. Neue, $2^3$, 684–685. — **7. Sed**: 'But, as I was

est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Vt navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur.

**73.** Ita fit ut illud breve vitae reliquom nec avide adpe-
[73] tendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit; vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis est

saying'; resumes after the digression occasioned by the mention of contempt for death, and the anecdote in illustration.—**8. certis**: *i.e.* 'to be depended upon,' 'unerring'; the abl. is abs. — **9. coagmentavit . . . dissolvit**: cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 30, 11: *quicquid conposuit* [*natura*], *resolvit, quicquid resolvit, conponit iterum.* — **10. destruit**: simply the opposite of *construxit.* — **12. Iam**: cf. 56, 18; 74, 1; for *iam vero*, 'furthermore,' 'moreover'; as in English *now* is often used in arguments in the same sense.

**73. reliquom**: substantive. — **2. nec sine causa**: because *optime natura dissolvit.* The Stoics justified suicide in case of incurable disease, or failing mind, etc.; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 58, 35 f.; Pliny, *Ep.* 1, 12. — **2. deserendum**: cf. *Somn. Sc.* 15 *fin.*: *nec iniussu eius a quo ille* (i.e. *animus*) *est vobis datus, ex hominum vita migrandum est, ne munus humanum adsignatum a deo defugisse videamini.* The military figure is continued in ll. 3-4. Life was often compared with the service of the soldier; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 96, 5: *vivere . . . militare est*, — a proverb. — **3. imperatoris**: cf. *T. D.* 1, 74: *Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus iniussu hinc nos suo demigrare.* — **3. praesidio et statione**: cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 62 B: ὡς ἔν τινι φρουρᾷ ἐσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν οὐδ᾽ ἀποδιδράσκειν, where the figure is of a *prison*, as in *T. D. l.c.* and *Somn. Sc.* 15, rather than of a post of duty as here (the more usual meaning of φρουρά). — **5. elogium**: cf. on 61, 2; the inscription ran (Hiller, fr. 19): —

Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισιν
καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς —

which Cicero translates (*T. D.* 1, 117): —

elogium, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

*Nemo me dacrumis decoret neque funera fletu*
*Faxit.*

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam inmortalitas consequatur.

74. Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni, post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum

*Mors mea ne careat lacrimis; linquamus amicis*
*Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.*

— 6. **Volt, credo**: Cicero admits that the verses of Solon are not really a complaint against death, yet he uses the supposed complaint (and the contrasted indifference of Ennius) as an illustration of *nec avide adpetendum*, 73, 1, in a chiastic arrangement as compared with *nec sine causa deserendum* and the prohibition of suicide by Pythagoras. — 6. **Volt . . . se esse**: cf. on 32, 12. The insertion of *se* adds an emphasis to the *esse carum suis* as a distinct aim of Solon's life. — 7. **haud scio an**: cf. on 56, 9. — 7. **melius Ennius**: sc. *dixerit* or *dicat;* the standpoint is wholly different from that of Solon in his epitaph, which is compared with that of Ennius also in *T. D.* 1, 117: *melior Enni quam Solonis oratio.* The one shows the proud consciousness of undying fame, the other the human wish to be missed and regretted. — 8. **dacrumis**: old form for *lacrumis*, preferred by the poet for the sake of the alliteration; note *funera fletu Faxit.* Cf. *dingua*, old form of *lingua; Kapitodium* for *Kapitolium* (*v.* Mar. Victorin., Keil, 6, 9, 17; 26, 1). — 8. **neque**: sc. *quisquam.* — 9. **Faxit**: *i.e. fecerit;* an old form, probably in its origin the optative of the lost aorist; cf. on *adiuvero* 1, 1. The remainder of the verse may be supplied from *T. D.* 1, 34: *Quor? Volito vivos per ora virum.* — 10. **inmortalitas**: while Ennius meant fame, Cicero thinks of the immortality of the soul.

**74. Iam**: cf. on 72, 12. — 1. **moriendi**: *i.e.* in the death-struggle. — 1. **aliquis**: in a belittling sense. — 1. **-que**: a weak adversative; a stronger would spoil the effect of the adversative *quidem* (l. 2). — 2. **praesertim seni**: since his endurance is less. — 3. **aut optandus**

ab adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo animo esse nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impendentem timens qui poterit animo consistere?

**75.** De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recorder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria est [75] interfectus, non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M.

**aut nullus**: cf. on 66, 7. — 3. **hoc**: anticipates the *ut*-clause (*mortem ut neglegamus*). — 3. **meditatum . . . esse**: passive in sense, a colloquial touch, cf. 4, 12: *adeptam*; 59, 17: *dimensa*; *meditor* was used especially of the preparation and practice of his speech by the orator, *e.g.* Quint. 10, 3, 30: *Demosthenes in litore . . . meditans* (not 'meditating'), etc. The perf. inf. with *debet* is not common except where *debet* also is perf.; cf. L. 2230; G. 280, 2 *b*. (H. 618, 2; B. 270, 2). — 4. **ab adulescentia**: 'from our youth up.' — 4. **mortem**: here includes dying. — 5. **meditatione**: in *T. D.* 1, 74 *fin.*, with the same comparison (cf. on *meditatum*, l. 4): *Tota enim philosophorum vita, ut ait idem* (*i.e.* Plato), *commentatio mortis est*; cf. *Phaedo*, 67 D. — 6. **incertum an**: 'possibly'; cf. *haud scio an*, 73, 7; cf. 56, 9. — 7. **qui**: cf. on 4, 14. — 7. **poterit**: the indef. subj. is not expressed; *timens* is the equivalent of a conditional, or characteristic relative, clause.

**75. non ita**: 'not so very,' 'no very.' — 2. **non L. Brutum . . . non duos Decios . . .**: owing to the length of the sentence, the form of which was changed as the writer went on, these accusatives are left without grammatical construction. One looks for some such words as *mortem minime metuendam duxisse*. — 3. **voluntariam mortem**: *devotio* was a formal religious act, preceded by a prayer for victory and the destruction of the enemy, repeated as dictated by a pontifex; cf. 43, 11; Livy, 8, 9, 6–8. — 6. **duos Scipiones**: cf. 29, 4; 82, 3. — 8. **collegae**: *i.e.* Varro; cf. In-

Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes, et ei quidem non solum indocti, sed etiam rustici, contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent?

76. Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, studiorum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa; num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? sunt ineuntis adulescentiae; num ea constans iam requirit aetas, quae media dicitur? sunt etiam eius aetatis; ne ea quidem quaeruntur

dex of Persons, *s.v. Terentius.* — 8. **Cannensi ignominia**: the great defeat at Cannae in Apulia, 216 B.C. The Romans lost somewhere between fifty thousand and seventy thousand men; Livy, 22, 47–49. — 8. **temeritatem**: cf. Livy, 22, 40, 2; *ib.* 41, 1; 44, 5; the historians blamed Varro for his eagerness to risk a general engagement. But in Rome there was general discontent with the former policy of excessive caution. — 9. **crudelissimus**: even in citing a humane act (and not the only one recorded of the great Carthaginian) Cicero cannot forget the traditional Roman idea of Hannibal's *inhumana crudelitas* (Livy, 21, 4, 9). — 11. **in Originibus**: cf. 38, 7 and Intr., § 35; the saying is given in *T. D.* 1, 101: *cum legiones scribat Cato alacris in eum locum profectas unde redituras se non arbitrarentur.* The story of a tribune and his four hundred men, who sacrificed themselves in Sicily (First Punic War), was told at length by Cato in his *Origines*, and a fragment of the passage remains, comparing his half-forgotten hero with Leonidas (Gellius, 3, 7, 19). — 12. **redituras**: cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 82, 22: *Quid? dux ille Romanus, qui ad occupandum locum milites missos, cum per ingentem hostium exercitum ituri essent, sic adlocutus est: 'Ire, commilitones, illo necesse est unde redire non est necesse.'* — 14. **indocti . . . docti**: with special reference to training in philosophy.

76. **Omnino**: 'in any case'; affirmative, as in 9, 1, but here with the entire assertion, not with a single word. — 1. **studiorum**: 'favorite occupations.' — 2. **pueritiae**: life is here made to consist of but four periods; cf. on 4, 15. — 4. **constans**: cf. 33, 14. — 5. **ne . . . qui-**

in senectute; sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis; ergo, ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis; quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis adfert.

XXI. **77**. Equidem — non enim video cur, quid ipse sentiam de morte, non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor quo ab ea propius absum — ego vestros patres, tuum, Scipio, tuumque, Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessi-

**dem**: cf. on 33, 1. — **8. evēnit**: perfect, as often in the subordinate clause of a present general statement; cf. L. 1613.

**77. Equidem**: what has just been said of the successive stages of life, easily leads over to the view that there must be another stage beyond the limits of the present life. — **2. quod**: if object, it refers loosely to *quid ipse sentiam*; what was at first opinion, is now clear vision. But *cernere* may be absolute, and *quod* causal. — **3. cernere**: cf. 82, 6; 83, 3; 84, 16. — **3. ab ea propius absum**: the Latin regards nearness and distance, not as opposites (as in 'near to,' and 'distant from'), but as different degrees of the same thing. The approach of death was thought to bring prophetic vision, — *divinare . . . morientes*, *Div.* 1, 64. — **6. vitam**: sc. *vivere*. — **6. sola vita nominanda**: cf. *T. D.* 1, 75: *Nam haec quidem vita mors est*; *Somn. Sc.* 14: *Immo vero . . . hi vivunt qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero quae dicitur vita mors est*; cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 492 E, quoting Euripides's lines (a fragment): —

*τίς δ' οἶδεν, εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν,*
*τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν;*

— **6. inclusi in his compagibus corporis**: cf. 81, 5; *Somn. Sc. l.c.*; *T. D.* 1, 75: *et cum illuc ex his vinclis emissi feremur*, . . ., and *ib.*: *qui in compedibus corporis semper fuerunt*, . . .; cf. *ib.* 118; *Laelius*, 14; Plato, *Phaedo*, 67 D; *Cratylus*, 400 C. Varro in his *Tithonus* (*Sat. Men.* 547, Büch.) makes the body the shell or rind of the soul: *Sic invitata a natura anima corporeum corticem facile reliquit*. — **7. necessitatis**: subjective gen. In the explanation

tatis et gravi opere perfungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo deos inmortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas.

**78.** Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi prae-

below (*Sed credo deos inmortales* . . . , l. 11) it is the gods, rather than fate, who assign this *munus* to men. — **12. terras tuerentur**: this is the *munus necessitatis* of l. 7, while by chiasmus the *grave opus* (l. 8) has been first explained (cf. *depressus* . . . *demersus*); *tuerentur* is sometimes understood as archaic and poetic for *intuerentur*, and explained by *contemplantes*, l. 13. But in mere contemplation the active Roman would not see a heaven-appointed task. It is rather an idea of watchful care and guardianship, including especially the *curae de salute patriae* (*Somn. Sc.* 29); cf. 81, 8. Cf. App. — **12. caelestium**: neuter. — **13. imitarentur**: this is the life 'according to Nature'; cf. 5, 3. — **13. modo atque constantia**: *i.e.* equipoise and steadiness. — **15. nobilitas**: 'fame.' — **15. philosophorum**: on Cato's real opinion of them, cf. Intr., §§ 19, 31 *fin.*; cf. 12, 4.

**78. incolas . . . nostros**: 'our fellow-countrymen,' having lived in the Greek cities of Southern Italy, especially Croton. — **2. qui essent . . .**: causal clause. — **3. ex universa mente**: 'from the soul of the world,' *i.e.* God. Pythagoras gave the universe a soul, to guide and govern its visible and tangible body. — **4. delibatos**: cf. Ennius, *l.c.* on 50, 10; *T. D.* 5, 38: *humanus autem animus decerptus ex mente divina*; *N. D.* 1, 27: *Pythagoras, qui censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnem . . . ex quo nostri animi carperentur.* But Pythagoras more commonly spoke of the human soul as a harmony than

terea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de inmortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis iudicatus. Quid multa? sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam quae res eas contineat, esse mortalem, cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat,

as an emanation from the divine soul; cf. *Phaedo*, 86, 92–94. — 5. **supremo . . . die**: in the prison, before taking the hemlock. — 5. **de inmortalitate animorum**: as reported in Plato's *Phaedo*; *aeternitas animorum* (not *animi*) was also used for 'immortality of the soul'; cf. *T. D.* 1, 39, and *aeternitati* above, 77, 10. — 7. **oraculo Apollinis**: at Delphi. The question asked of the Pythia was whether any man was wiser than Socrates; her answer, *μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι* (Plato, *Apol.* 21 A). — 7. **Quid multa**? note the transition to the beliefs Cato has himself accepted. It is not to be inferred that they had all been borrowed from Plato, still less from the *Phaedo*. The 3d and 4th only are from that dialogue; the 1st is not from Plato at all, but may represent a line of reasoning followed by his successors in the Academy. Cf. App.; also on l. 20. — 8. **cum tanta . . .**: this 1st "proof" from the unlimited capacities of the human mind Cicero had used in *T. D.* 1, 59–65, 66 (from the *Consolatio*), with special attention to memory and invention (cf. *artes* and *inventa*, ll. 9–10), including poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, — *Prorsus haec divina mihi videtur vis, quae tot res efficiat et tantas* (*l.c.* 65). — 8. **celeritas animorum**: cf. *T. D.* 1, 43: *nulla est celeritas quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere.* — 10. **scientiae**: not 'sciences' in the modern sense; for the Latin word never gets away from a personal association. The plural (only here in class. Latin) is accounted for by *artes* and *inventa*, and the phrase may be translated 'such a range (*tantae*) of knowledge.' — 11. **cumque semper . . .**: 2d argument, from the mind as a source of motion; from *Phaedrus*, 245 C ff., not from the *Phaedo*. It was used by Cicero in *Somn. Sc.* 27, and quoted at length in *T. D.* 1, 53–54. — 11. **agitetur**: middle in sense. — 12. **principium motus**: *i.e.* anything outside of itself to give the first impulse and set it in motion. —

ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus, et cum simplex animi esset natura neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi; quod si non posset, non posse interire; magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles adripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari.

XXII. **79.** Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior haec dicit: 'Nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex eis rebus quas gerebam, intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiamsi nullum videbitis.

13. **ne . . . quidem**: 'not . . . either'; cf. on 47, 2. — 14. **cum simplex . . .**: 3d "proof," from solidarity; from the *Phaedo*, 78 B ff.; cf. *T. D.* 1, 66 (cf. on l. 8, above). — 17. **magnoque . . .**: 4th "proof" — the famous argument from (supposed) reminiscence in childhood; *Phaedo*, 72 E ff.; *Meno*, 82–86; *T. D.* 1, 57. Cicero (*i.e.* Plato) simply states that this proves knowledge before birth, leaving the reader to draw the conclusion that an existence before birth makes for an existence after death. Cf. Wordsworth, *Intimations of Immortality*. — 17. **esse**: the subj. is the *quod*-clause (l. 18). — 17. **argumento**: pred. dat. — 18. **iam pueri**: 'even in childhood.' — 18. **artes difficiles**: geometry was the favorite example (*Meno, l.c.*). — 20. **reminisci et recordari**: synonyms, merely to emphasize the idea. Cf. App.

**79.** 2. **maior**: 'the Elder'; cf. 59, 6: *Cyrum minorem*. — 2. **haec dicit**: what follows is a free rendering of *Cyropaedīa*, 8, 7, 17–22, — a part of Cyrus's words of farewell to his sons, — in reality the teachings of Socrates put by Xenophon into the mouth of Cyrus. — 3. **nullum**: cf. l. 6; 74, 3. — 4. **Nec enim . . .**: 1st argument, from the invisibility of the soul, even during life. — 4. **eram**: the rare imperf. with *dum*; L. 1997; A. 276, *e*, n.; G. 569, n. 1–2. — 4. **videbatis**: the time extending over a large part of his life, now at its end.

**80.** Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere, cum excessissent ex eis, emori, nec vero tum animum esse insipientem cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset, sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat; abeunt enim illuc omnia unde orta sunt, animus autem solus, nec cum adest nec cum discessit, apparet.

**81.** Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intellegitur quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporum vinculis relaxaverint. Quare, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote,' inquit, 'ut deum; sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen deos veren-

**80. Nec vero . . .**: 2d argument, aiming to account for posthumous fame on the assumption that the soul of the deceased exercises an influence upon the memory of the living. — 3. **Mihi quidem . . .**: 3d head; impossibility of believing that the soul lives and is *sapiens* only when confined within the body. — 5. **excessissent ex eis**: cf. 82, 13. — 6. **insipientem**: 'unconscious.' — 7. **evasisset**: cf. 81, 5. — 7. **sed**: 'but rather,' 'but on the contrary,' sc. *persuasum est mihi*. — 8. **Atque etiam . . .**: 4th "proof"; the soul always invisible, whereas the elements which compose the body may be traced even after dissolution.

**81. Iam vero . . .**: 5th "proof," from dreams, and the intimations they give of what mind may be when completely freed from matter. Cyrus had been warned in a dream of his approaching death (*l.c.* 8, 7, 2). — 3. **remissi**: for the opposite, *intentus*, cf. 37, 3. — 5. **vinculis**: cf. on 77, 6. — 6. **haec**: 'what I have said,' *i.e.* the five arguments given for the immortality of the soul. — 6. **colitote . . . ut deum**: a much stronger expression

tes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.' Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, si placet, nostra videamus.

XXIII. **82.** Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum aut duos avos, Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum aut multos praestantes viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos, quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se ipsos pertinere. An censes, ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscep-

than Xenophon's τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι (*l.c.* § 22). — **8. pulchritudinem**: abstract for concrete; *mundus* was the usual word (κόσμος, for which, however, Xenophon has τάξις in this place). — **8. tuentur**: cf. 77, 12. — **9. servabitis**: the mild command. — **10. nostra**: *i.e.* Roman examples; cf. 12, 9: *domestica*.

**82. 2. patrem . . . patruum**: cf. 29, 4; 75, 6; cf. Index of Persons, *s.v. Cornelius*. — **4. tanta esse conatos**: cf. *tantos labores*, l. 7; *T. D.* 1, 32–33; *pro Archia*, 29. — **4. esse conatos**: the usual form in quoted unreal conclusion would be *fuisse conaturos*, with *nisi . . . vidissent* for the condition. The forms used by Cicero in this sentence and the next (cf. *suscepturum fuisse*, l. 8), show a desire to secure variety, and, in the case of the Scipios and Paulus, to emphasize at once the reality of their achievements, and the persistence of their belief (cf. imperf. *cernerent*). The influence of *nisi* in *without*-clauses may have made this form of condition appear less irregular than it really is. Cf. L. 2105–2106, 2332; G. 659, 3 n. — **6. cernerent**: cf. 77, 3. — **6. posteritatem ad se ipsos pertinere**: this argument had been used by Cicero as long ago as his consulship, in the oration *pro Rabirio perd.* 29: *Itaque cum multis aliis de causis virorum bonorum mentes divinae mihi atque aeternae videntur esse, tum maxime quod optimi et sapientissimi cuiusque animus ita praesentit in posterum, ut nihil nisi sempiternum spectare videatur*; *T. D.* 1, 32: *Nemo umquam sine magna spe inmortalitatis se pro patria offerret ad mortem*; *pro Archia*, 29–30. — **7. more senum**: cf. 30, 9. — **7. tantos labores**: *pro Rab. l.c.*: *tantis in laboribus C. Marius periculisque vixisset, si nihil longius quam vitae termini*

turum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam, essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem et quietam sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet ut animi inmortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad inmortalitatem et gloriam niteretur.

**83.** Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? nonne vobis videtur is animus qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem cuius obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi, neque vero eos solos convenire aveo quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam de quibus audivi et legi et ipse con-

*postulabant, spe atque animo de se et gloria sua cogitasset?* — 10. **otiosam . . . quietam**: cf. *T. D.* 1, 33: *Licuit esse otioso Themistocli*; the real Cato would have found such a life intolerable. — 12. **nescio quo modo**: *i.e. aliquo modo*; cf. 28, 3. — 14. **victurus esset**: cf. 77, 5-6. — 14. **Quod . . . ni**: cf. 35, 5; 67, 7. — 15. **ut animi . . .**: logical subj. of *se haberet*; grammatically in apposition with *quod*. — 15. **haud**: preferred to *non* here, because the negation is not so much of the whole clause, as of the single idea in *optimi cuiusque*; *i.e.* it would not be the best men who most strive after . . .; *haud* in the best literary usage is employed only with adjectives (cf. 1, 6), pronouns (cf. 83, 8), and adverbs, with the verb *scio*, and much less frequently, with *dubito*, *ignoro*, and some others. For the reason explained above this cannot be classed as an example of *haud* with *nitor*; cf. L. 1449; G. 443; B. 347, 2, *a*. — 15. **optimi cuiusque**: cf. on l. 6.

**83. Quid**; cf. on 22, 1. — 2. **iniquissimo**: 'with the greatest reluctance.' — 3. **cernat**: cf. 77, 3. — 4. **obtusior**: the figure is consistent with *acies* (*oculorum*). — 6. **videndi**: gerund for gerundive, as often, to avoid the long genitive plural. — 7. **audivi et legi**: so in the *Apology*, 41 AB, Socrates anticipates the pleasure of conversation with poets and such heroes as Ajax and Odysseus (translated in *T. D.* 1, 98). — 7. **conscripsi**: in his *Ori-*

scripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari.

*gines;* cf. Intr., § 35; the historian hopes to meet those whom he has celebrated. — **8. Quo**: *i.e. ad quos;* but place and persons are not distinctly separated in the thought; cf. *istinc*, 47, 5. — **8. haud**: with *quis;* not to be joined with *retraxerit;* cf. on 82, 15. — **9. tamquam Peliam recoxerit**: a proverbial expression. The story of Pelias was more dramatic than that of Aeson, — hence a familiar allusion, regardless of the unhappy consequences. Plautus also has Pelias, instead of Aeson (in the mouth of a cook), *Pseudolus*, 869; cf. above, 50, 3. But proverbs may conflict with the accepted version of a tale. In one story (Simonides, Pherecydes) it was even Jason, not Aeson, who was restored to youth. — **10. largiatur . . . recusem**: less vivid future condition, differing but slightly from present unreal. — **10. repuerascam**: a rare word (but found in a proverb in Plautus, *Mercator*, 296); figuratively used also by Cicero of Scipio and Laelius on vacation, — *eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos, cum rus ex urbe tamquam e vinclis evolavissent* (*de Oratore*, 2, 22). — **10. in cunis**: the ancient cradle had sometimes the form of a boat, sometimes that of a shoe. The slave who rocked it is spoken of by Martial (11, 39, 1) as *Cunarum . . . motor . . . mearum*. — **12. spatio**: cf. on 14, 4. — **12. carceres**: a Roman race had one striking feature unknown to modern custom, — the concealment of the waiting chariots in a row of stalls (*carceres*) under the seats at one end of the circus. The signal being given by the dropping of a napkin, slaves instantly opened the doors of the *carceres*, and all the horses appeared at once. The actual start, however, was made from a white line drawn across the course at the nearest turning-point (*metae*). Cf. App. — **12. a calce**: the end of the course was another white line drawn across the course at a point opposite the judges' stand, which was on the same side as the spectators. Hence *calx* was proverbial for the end of anything; here 'from finish back to post.' In Seneca's time *creta*, 'chalk,' was used instead of lime, but the proverb, of course, remained unchanged (*Ep.* 108, 32). For the comparison of life with the race-

**84**. Quid habet enim vita commodi? quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane, habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non libet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi, et ei docti, saepe fecerunt, neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi ut non frustra me natum existimem, et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo. Commorandi enim natura deversorium nobis, non habitandi, dedit. O praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hac turba et conluvione discedam! Proficiscar

course, cf. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 288–289, Büch.: —

*Némini Fortúna currum a cárcere intimó missum*
*Lábi inoffensúm per aecor cándidum ad calcém sivit.*

*Id. Títhonus* (*ib.* 544): —

*Quá voluptate aévitatis éxtimam áttigit metam.*

Seneca (*Ep.* 30, 13) also compares the spirit shown by an aged friend to the joy of the charioteers, *cum septimo spatio palmae adpropinquant.* Cf. Horace, *Sat.* 1, 1, 114 ff.

**84. 2. habeat sane**: cf. on 34, 9: *Ne sint.* — **3. deplorare**: cf. *T. D.* 1, 75–76: *Nam haec quidem vita mors est, quam lamentari possem, si liberet.* A. *Satis tu quidem in Consolatione es lamentatus.* — **4. multi**: among them Cicero himself, in the book just cited, written to console himself for the loss of his daughter Tullia. Works of condolence often took their text from the vanity of life. Cicero is not alluding to incidental expressions, or sayings, as in Euripides, for example (cf. on 77, 6). — **6. hospitio**: cf. on 69, 11; the *hospitium* was better suited for a stay than the mere *deversorium.* — **7. Commorandi . . . deversorium**: the gerund, in the gen. of nearer definition, often defines by indicating the design of a *thing*, as in Caes., *B. G.* 4, 17 *fin.*: *naves deiciendi operis.* This is also found with *esse.* But the gen. gerundive expressing the purpose of an *action* is not Ciceronian; cf. L. 2258, 2262–2263; A. 298, R.; G. 428, R. 2; B. 339, 6. — **8. non habitandi**: in Horace (*Epist.* 1. 11, 11–12) the traveller, wet and muddy, welcomes the shelter, but will have no desire *in caupona vivere* (which is much more than *habitare*). — **9. proficiscar**: cf. 83, 4 and 8. — **10. conluvione**: 'filth,' 'offscourings,' a

enim non ad eos solum viros de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior; cuius a me corpus est crematum, quod contra decuit, ab illo meum; animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans in ea profecto loca discessit quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existimans non longinquom inter nos digressum et discessum fore.

common figure; cf. *sentina, faex*, (the latter used by Seneca, *Ep.* 58, 33, in inquiring whether old age is really the dregs of life or *liquidissimum ac purissimum quiddam*). — **11. ante dixi**: *i.e.* especially in 82, 1–3; but also 83, 6–8, and *ante* may range over the whole dialogue. — **12. Catonem**: so Cicero speaks often of his own son, using the *cognomen* Cicero; *e.g. Ciceroni meo, ad Att.* 9, 6, 1. — **13. pietate**: 'affection,' 'devotion.' — **13. crematum**: cf. Intr., § 32; Livy, *per.* 48. — **14. quod contra**: 'whereas'; this is often explained as a case of anastrophe, — *quod* governed by the prep. *contra*. But *contra* in earlier Latin was usually an *adverb* (down to Cicero's time; L. 1412, revised ed.), and frequently stood as pred. to *esse, fieri*, and the like; *e.g. pro Cluentio*, 84: *In stultitia contra est; ad Att.* 12, 46: *vereor ne etiam contra* [*sit*]; Lucr. 3, 686: *Quod fieri totum contra manifesta docet res; id.* 4, 1088; Sall., *Jug.* 85, 22: *Quod contra est; Off.* 1, 49: *quod contra fit;* Lucr. 1, 82: *Quod contra* (cf. Munro, *ad loc.*). The *quod* is the same as in *quod si* (cf. 85, 3 and 8), *quod ni* (cf. 67, 7), *quod quia*, and admits of no more precise translation. — **14. decuit**: sc. *fieri; contra* [*fieri*] is then explained by *ab illo meum* [*corpus cremari*]. This reversal of the order of nature was often the theme of epitaphs of sons who died before their fathers; *e.g.* C.I.L. V. 117, 312. — **15. respectans**: with longing. — **16. quo**: *i.e. ad quae*; cf. on 83, 8. — **16. cernebat**: cf. on 77, 3. — **17. non quo . . . ferrem**: the reason stated for the purpose of denying it; H. 588, II. 2; L. 1855; A. 321, R.; G. 541, n. 2; B. 286, 1, *b*. The real reason follows (*sed me* . . .), but in the form of a principal clause. — **17. aequo animo**: contrast the meaning here with that in 83, 1; here of indifference. — **18. existimans**: expressing manner, rather than the more logical means (*i.e.* 'with the thought' . . .).

**85.** His mihi rebus, Scipio, (id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti) levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum inmortales esse credam, libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui irrideant. Quod si non sumus inmortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defatigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

**85. 2. dixisti**: in 4, 1–5. — **3. Quod si**: cf. on 84, 14. — **3. qui . . . credam**: 'in believing'; causal. — **4. libenter erro**: cf. *T. D.* 1, 39: *Errare mehercule malo cum Platone, . . . quam cum istis vera sentire.* Contrast *Phaedo*, 91 C; and Cervantes's *Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas* (Don Quix. 2, 51). — **6. quidam**: *i.e.* especially the Epicureans, whom Cicero often leaves unnamed; cf. 43, 4. — **6. minuti**: so in *Div.* 1, 62, where the silence of Plato and Socrates is counted of more worth than the arguments of the *minuti philosophi*. In *T. D.* 1, 55, the opponents of Plato and Socrates are *plebei philosophi*. — **7. nihil sentiam**: in accordance with the arguments of 67–76. — **9. exstingui**: cf. 71, 8; 38, 22; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 26, 4: *Et quis exitus est melior quam in finem suum natura solvente dilabi?* — **9. suo tempore**: cf. 33, 11–15; 71, 9–11. — **11. peractio . . . fabulae**: 'the last act of the play'; cf. 64, 7; on 70. 1–2: *Neque . . . peragenda fabula est.* Cf. *peroratio*; but *peractio* is a very rare word, — here only, in class. Latin. The dying Augustus asked his friends (Suet. 99): *ecquid eis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse, adiecit et clausulam:*

εἰ δέ τι
ἔχοι καλῶς τὸ παίγνιον, κρότον δότε,
καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε.

— **13. adiuncta satietate**: abl. abs. with conditional force; on *satietas*, cf. 76, 2. For the thought, cf. Varro, *Tithonus* (*Sat. Men.* 548, Büch.): *Risi multum, lusi modice.*

Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem; ad quam utinam perveniatis, ut ea quae ex me audistis, re experti probare possitis!

— 14. **quae dicerem**: cf. *Lael.* 104 *fin.*; cf. *N. D.* 3, 93: *Haec fere dicere habui de natura deorum.* In the subjv. with *quae* or *quod* the idea of purpose was more distinctly felt. With an indirect question (*e.g. non habeo quid scribam*) *habeo* is equivalent to a verb of knowing. — 15. **perveniatis**: cf. 6, 10. — 15. **re experti**: *i.e.* by putting them into practice, by actual experience. Thus the practical aim of the essay is once more enforced in the closing words of Cato; and Cicero adds no epilogue *in propria persona*, to mar the impression of direct contact with a man who could say in the fullest sense, *Vixi.*

# APPENDIX

## NOTES CRITICAL AND SUPPLEMENTARY

For the MSS., see the following sections of the Introduction (pp. 46–48): A, 51; Ad, 52; B, 49; Br, 52; E, 49; H, 51; I, 49; K, 52; L, 50; M, 51; NP, 49; $P^aP^b$, 51; Q, 50; RS, 49; $S^gVvV^i$, 51; for text-criticism and editions, §§ 53–55; also the preface. Colb(ertinus) is another of Dahl's Paris MSS. (6105).

**1.** 1. **ego**: so $LHVvV^i$ rell., Ml., while P alone has *te*; the latter preferred by Hm., Bt., Sb. — **adiuvero** $LPHV^2E^2M^1$, *adiuto* $V^1vBRSP^bI$ $M^2$, *adiuero* A, but Lambinus, Hm., Ml., etc., had already restored this rdg. by conj. The reading of the text had been regularly rejected by the edd. on the ground that there was no such form as *adiūvero*. But it now appears that subjv. (or opt.) forms of the sigmatic aorist sustain the best MSS. here, and in Plaut., *Rudens*, 305; Ter., *Phormio*, 537; Catullus, 66, 18. For the suggestion that this rdg. be restored to the text the ed. is indebted to Professor Oertel, of Yale University. — **levasso** codd.; $LvV^i$ substitute *levavero*, a gloss; H has *levabo*.

2. **versat in pectore**: in $P^bI$ *versatur pectore*.

3. **Ecquid erit praemi?** om. P, except as inserted in marg. in an abbreviated form, certain to be misunderstood. Hence the corruption into *et qua deprimeris* in $A^2V^2V^iBIS$, all the fifteenth century MSS. (Dahl, 2, p. 17), and many of the early printed editions.

6. **Ille vir**: Cicero has probably taken slight liberties with Ennius's verses, both here and at l. 8: *sic*.

9. **non cognomen solum** codd., *cognomen non solum* $PP^bVvV^iBIS$.

12. **Quarum . . . nunc**: the punctuation is that of Schiche and Anz (except that the latter begins a paragraph with *Quarum*).

14. **visum est mihi** P, *mihi est visum* L*AVvV E all.

**2.** 3. **etiam** L, om. all., Hm.

3–7. **etsi te . . . uteretur**: perhaps an addition in the process of revision, cf. A. Otto, p. 95.

4. **certo** $LP^2RV^iA^2$, Charisius, 206 K., Ml., *certe* $P^1HBESA^1M$, Hm.

10. **digne satis laudari** $LHA^2VEV^iK$, Ml., *satis digne laudari* $P^b$, *laudari satis digne* P, Hm., *satis laudari digne* BRSM.

**3.** 3. **aristoceus** R, *Aristo Chius* LEA$^1$, *aut aristo* P (with erasure of *Cius*) H, *aut aristo* A$^2$ marg., *aristoteles*, SV$^i$, *aristotiles* BI; Hm. reads *Ceus*, Ml. *Cius*. That the Stoic Aristo of Chios is here meant, not the Peripatetic of Keos, Giesecke tries to prove in Fleck. *Jb.* 145 (1892), 206 ff. J. Grimm was of the same opinion in his *Rede über das Alter*.

4–5. **quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio**: bracketed by Msn. (after Polle, Fleck. *Jb.* 131, 807), but the clause is needed as explaining Cicero's motive in choosing Cato. The repetition of *auctoritatem* after *auctoritatis* is careless, but there is no sufficient reason for doubting the reading. Something might be said against *parum enim*, etc., as a gloss incorporated with the text. More probably we have here, as elsewhere, an evidence of a double recension, — *i.e.* Cicero's own alterations and corrections; cf. A. Otto, pp. 96–97; cf. on 20, 7: *Veientes, fin.*

8. **suis libris** codd., Charisius, 198 K., Hm., Ml., *libris suis* PEAd. — **id tribuito** LP$^2$vBr, Sb., Anz, Korn., *id tribuitur* A$^1$, *tribuito* V$^i$, *attribuito* P$^1$H$^1$A$^2$BRS (I inserting *hoc*), Hm., Ml., Sch., *adtribuito* V, *attribuit(u)r* H$^2$E. Cf. *ad Herenn.* 4, 48: *Id tribuite vestrae culpae*; but *de Orat.* 2, 14: *Hoc tu si cupidius factum existimas, Caesari attribues.*

**4.** 6. **difficilem**: LAVvM, Ml., have the word in this position; PH (suprascr. m. 1) ESBR, Hm., Sch., place the adj. after the names, which thus stand between *sane* and the adj. in a most improbable fashion.

9. **ipsi** LPR$^1$V, Ml., *ipsis* HBER$^2$Sv, Hm. — **potest malum** PBRS, Hm., Bt., *malum potest* LHAVv, Ml., Korn., Sch., *mali potest* EK.

12. **adeptam** L$^1$ (so Dahl, L$^2$ according to Mommsen) PHVvBRSI M, Hm., *adeptā* A$^2$ (apparently, with gloss: *consecutam*), *adepti* L$^2$ (Dahl, L$^1$, Mommsen) A$^1$EK, Ml. The latter has been more generally accepted, but the former is more forcible, and would be likely to be corrected out of the text by a copyist who thought he had detected an error, and forgot how many perf. ptcpp. of dep. verbs were used by Cicero in the pass. sense.

13. **putassent** LHR, *putavissent* PAVvV$^i$BESM.

17. **si** (*octogesimum*) LP$^2$V$^i$vK, om. codd. rell., Hm. — **octogesimum**: both P and L have *octoginta*.

18. **consolatio** LPBRSKM, Bt., Ml., *consolatione* HEI, Hm., Sb.

**5.** 5. **discriptae** L$^1$VA, *descriptae* codd. rell.

10. **Quid est enim**: Some have preferred to see in this a question as to the *meaning* of the story of the giants, suggesting a rational interpretation of the myth, after the manner of Cato's contemporary, Euhemerus (translated by Ennius), or of the Stoics, who set themselves the task of explaining away the old legends by an allegorical method of interpreta-

tion. With this idea, the translation "for what does the battle of the giants with the gods signify but rebellion against Nature?" has been defended by Ben. (after Nauck). But this form of question is incessantly used by Cicero where it is impossible to see even the remotest notion of interpreting a myth, a law, a statement, etc., or anything but the dogmatic assertion that A = B. For further discussion by the editor, and a collection of examples, cf. A.J.P. 23, 440–442.

**6. 8. tamquam**: om. $PL^2A^2$.

9. **quam** codd., *qua* HS (in ras.). The example from *pro Scauro* cited in the commentary is removed by Ml.'s punctuation.

**7. 9. venirent** edd., *evenirent* codd.

**8. 5. istud** LHVQ, Charisius, 208 K., Ml., *istuc* codd., Hm.

6. **sunt** $LH^2AVV^1E$, Ml.; om. PBRS, etc., Hm.

9. **essem nec** $L^1AVS^{g1}$, *essem ignobilis nec* $L^2HvM$, etc. (cf. Dahl, Gemoll). — **Atheniensis** $L^1AE$, Ml., *Atheniensis esses* $PL^2HVvBRSM$, Hm.

**9. 2. artes** is generally understood to stand for *artes liberales*, and thus to cover all learned occupations, with a possible suggestion of the mental qualities acquired by such discipline. But the concluding words of the section show in *bene actae vitae* and *bene factorum* an ethical trend, to the exclusion of cultivation, refinement, or learning. For the moment Cato's thought is concentrated upon the active, useful life, during which the *arma senectutis* are forged. In such a context it is not easy to make him turn aside to speak of avocations, literary leisure, scientific recreations, or other means of passing time profitably in the leisure moments of a busy life, or later, in the retirement of old age. It is better to join *artes* with *virtutum* and translate 'principles' or 'theory,' except that the latter word too much suggests mere speculation. Henderson, in his edition (Toronto, 1883), translates the whole phrase 'the study and practice of moral excellencies.' Or *artes* may be taken as 'character' (cf. *mores*), since *artes* is not infrequently a synonym for *virtutes*, e.g. *Fin.* 2, 115 (where Holstein says Cicero follows the Stoics in that use): *non has maximas artes . . . sed quaero num existimes . . . Phidian, Polyclitum, Zeuxim ad voluptatem artes suas derexisse?* Cf. *Imp. Pomp.* 36, where *bellandi virtus* has as its companions many other *artes*; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 2, 4; 5, 7 ('qualities,' as often in Plautus).

3. **ecferunt** $A^2$, *ecfecerunt* P, *haec ferunt* V, *eferunt* $A^1$, *efferunt* H codd.

**10. 1. eum qui Tarentum recepit**: bracketed as a gloss by Cobet, Bt., Msn.; but cf. A. Otto, p. 103.

3. **comitate condita** codd., *cum aetate condita* HE[1]K, *cū etate condita* v[1], *co||tate condita* A[1], *cv aetate condita* A[2] (in marg. *comitate condita et gravitas*). — **gravitas** PHVv[1]BRS, *virtus gravis* LHA[1]K, *gravis virtus* E, *virtus* v[2]; H has a combination of two rdgs. (*gravitas cum aetate condita virtus gravis*).

7. **quartum** E[2]R[2], edd., *quartu(m?)* P[1], *quarto* P[2]HAVvV[i]E[1]R[1]M rell.; H has *cum quo consule quarto*.

8. **Quaestor**: the text has been corrupted through misunderstanding as to where the previous sentence ended (cf. below, on 18, 4). Thus *Quaestor* was thrown back into the preceding sentence in spite of chronology (cf. *e.g.* HV). Beginning then with *Deinde*, the supposed lack of an official title was ignorantly supplied by inserting *aedilis* (but Cato was not aedile until 199), or *praetor* (though he was not praetor before 198). Most of the MSS. — to complete the confusion — combine *both* of these interpolations. Thus, *quaestor deinde aedilis quadriennio post factus sum praetor quem* PL[2]V[i]A[2] marg. H (*quadringennio*); cf. *ad tarentum questor deinde edilis* v. L[1] omits a large part of this, and has only *questor* $\overline{qm}$; A[1]Br also omit *deinde quadriennio post factus sum*. But these omissions are too extensive to prove anything with regard to *deinde*. It has therefore been retained in spite of Anz and Schiche.

15. **homo**: in reminiscence of Vergil's adaptation (*Aen.* 6, 846):

*Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem*,

some MSS. insert *qui* after *homo* (so ABS[1]P, though in the last the word is marked with dots for omission), while HVvERM have *unus qui*.

16. **Noenum**: a conj. of Lachmann (on Lucr. 3, 198), Hm., Ml., etc. The MSS. read *non enim*; P has *N̄enim*, whereas to sustain Lachmann the abbreviation should have been *Nōenim*, which might be an easy corruption of *Noenum* (*v.* Dahl). But the verse is decisive. On *noenum*, cf. Stolz, *Histor. Grammatik*, 1, pp. 130–131, L. 699, R. 86, 2, Thomas in *Class. Rev.* 5, 378–379, the last calling attention to the impossibility of supposing that *non* is a corruption of *noenum*, since *nolo* is found as far back as the XII Tables, while *noenum* had not gone entirely out of use by the time of Ennius, and is found even in Varro.

17. **plusque**: *postque magisque* is the reading of the MSS., both here and in *Off.* 1, 84, and is retained by Hm., Bt., Ml., Msn., Sch., as also by Lucian Müller in his text of Ennius (*Ann.* 8); *plusque magisque*, the conj. of Bernays has been approved by Vahlen; *priusque magisque* was conj. by Bergk, Sb. For the last it would be easy to assume that a hasty copyist, failing to see how *prius* could stand in this context,

substituted *post*. But the unanimity of the Mss. in two passages (this and *Off. l.c.*) is a striking fact, and the corruption must be very old. For the difference in meaning between *plus* and *magis*, cf. Tegge, *Studien zur lateinischen Synonymik*, p. 255 (*plus* as comp. of *multum*, *magis* as comp. of *magnopere*). It is safe to say, however, that old Ennius, if he wrote *plusque magisque*, did not draw any refined distinction, but placed the words side by side merely for cumulative effect.

**11.** 3. **fuerat in arce** $L^1HA^1V^1P^2$BrM, Sb., Anz, Korn., Sch., *fugerat in arce* $P^1L^2V^2A^2S^g$ all., *fugerat in arcem* v, Hm., Ml. In view of the length of time (three years) during which Macatus defended the citadel, *fuerat* is all but certain. On Cicero's error, cf. A.J.P. 19, 437.

**12.** 1. **nihil** LAEV, *nihil est* PHBRS, Hm.

2. **mortem filii** VQ and H (with *marcii* suprascr. m. 1), but *mortem M. filii* P, *mortem marci filii* $AV^iv$; the same error in L and other Mss. The son's name was Quintus.

9. [**bella**]: bracketed by Msn., Sb., Otto (p. 103); apparently inserted by copyists who did not understand the general terms *domestica*, *externa*; om. Ws.

10. **fruebar**: L has *fruebatur* corrected to *fruebar* (Dahl); BEIRS have *perfruebar*. — **iam tum**: conj. ed.; the Mss. and edd. show uncertainty as to the position of *tum* (*tunc*); thus — after *fruebar* (*tunc*) $H^2R$, after *perfruebar* (*tunc*) BESI. It is omitted by LVvAMP (so Dahl for P, which has been usually cited as showing *tum cupide*). If the *tum* should not be omitted entirely, we may place it after *iam*. Mommsen restored *fruebar tum* out of the uncorrected *fruebatur* in L; Hm., Ml. read *ita tum cupide fruebar*.

**13.** 1. **Quorsum** $V^i$, *cursum* $L^1A^1$, *quorsus* PV, etc.

7. **uno et octogesimo**: the combination — however written — is really a compound word, as truly in the masc. forms as in the *legio unetvicesima* so often mentioned by Tacitus, *e.g. Ann.* 1, 64. — **et** LE, om. PBRS, etc. (also H, inverting the numerals).

10. **se dicit** P (in ras.), *se dicitur* A, *dicitur* HV codd.

**14.** 4. **Sicut** Ml, *sicuti* PHAVv rell., *hic ut* Lucian Müller in his edition of Ennius (Bk. 17), accepting Baehrens's conj.; Müller also conj. *non* for *nunc* in l. 6 (*Philologus*, 43, 99, and in his text of Ennius in the *Corpus. Poet. Lat.*).

5. **Olumpia** Reid, Ben., *olimpia* HBIRS, *olimphia* L*, *olymphia* Vv, *Olympia* edd.

7. **anno**: nearly all the Mss. have the acc. *annum enim undevicesimum* L (*undevicensimum*) $PVvV^iRIA$ (*unde vigesimum*) B (*ante vicesimum*) S (do.); HE have *anno enim vigesimo*.

11. **suasissem** P (so Dahl, 2, p. 22, who is not, however, entirely certain, in view of the erasure of the last letter) L*H²AV (*si* in ras.) BRE SM, Hm. The reading *suasisset* (H¹) was formerly claimed for P¹ (with correction to *suasissem* by P²), and upon this was based the generally accepted conj. of Forchhammer, *suasi. Sed* (Ml.). Cf. Hale, *Cum-Konstruktionen*, p. 229.

**15.** 3. **faciat** codd., *facit* P.

4. **omnibus fere** PV E, Hm., Bt., Sb., Msn., Reid, Korn., Ben., Sch.¹, *fere omnibus* LHAVvK rell., Ml., Sch.². Cf. Krebs, *Antibarbarus*, $1^6$, p. 533.

9. **seniles** P²H² codd., *similes* P¹H¹.

**16.** 4. **persecutus**: *prosecutus* HV¹²E.

5. **rectae** codd., *recte* V¹I.

6. **dementis** . . . : *dementes sese flexere via* L* (*via* |||) PV¹PᵇS¹ (in ras.) V¹ (Dahl, 2, p. 22), *dementes se flexere via* HV²BI, *dementi sese flexere via* EM, *dementi se flexere via* RS², *dementes sese flexere ruina* Q, Lm. Vahlen prefers *dementis*, but L. Müller *dementes* (Ennius. *Ann.* Bk. 6); *viai* was restored by Lambinus, Hm., Ml., cett.

7. **et tamen** codd.; for this *etiam* has been conj. by Hm. and G. Wagner (and so by Hm. below, l. 12, who, however, keeps the Ms. rdg. in his text in both places).

8. **septimo decimo anno** HQS², *septem decem annos* codd. (so AV and v, except that v inserts *et* after *septem*).

12. **et tamen sic** codd.; Sb. conj. *eum, sicut a*.

**17.** 2. **similesque sunt** codd.; om. BIS. — **ut si qui** codd., *his qui* V¹v, *ut si aliqui* A².

3. **dicant** codd., *dicunt* PVvBI.

4. **autem**: om. P, but not H.

5. **Ne**: conj. ed., *non* codd., edd. On this form of negative concession cf. *T. D.* 2, 14: *ne sit sane summum malum dolor, malum certe est; Acad.* 2, 84: *Ne sit sane; videri certe potest;* an affirmative example is *Verr.* 5, 4: *Sit fur, sit sacrilegus . . . at est bonus imperator; sane* is frequently found both in affirmative and negative examples, but is not essential; cf. Kühner, 2, § 47, 10, who gives among other cases an instance (affirmative) from a speech of Cato. The corruption of *ne* into *non* would be inevitable if the sentences were run together; the influence of *faciat* would lead to the assimilation of *facit*. Msn. brackets *non faciat . . . faciat*. Cf. A. Otto, p. 97. — **faciat** LHv codd., Ml., *facit* Hm., who has *facit* in both places, and so Bt., Sb., Sch., Ws.

6. **multo**: om. PH, *multa* A¹. — **facit** S, Hm., etc., *faciat* LPHVK rell., Ml.

7. **velocitate** LVvV[i]E, Ml., *velocitatibus* PHBRSM, Hm., Sb., *vel [velocitat]ibus* A[2] suprascr. — **aut celeritate**: bracketed by Sb.; cf. A. Otto, p. 102.

**18.** 4. **praescribo quo modo** L, *praescribo et quo modo* codd., edd. For *quo modo . . . denuntio*, cf. *ad Fam.* 7, 5, 3: *quo modo . . . locuntur.* — **Karthagini male**: for *Karthagini cui male* of most Mss.; *cui* is found in LPAVvV[i]Colb.IBS[1]M, Ml.; om. HERS[2]Q, Hm., Bt., edd. Kayser conj. *quidem* for *cui* (accepted by Sch.[1], Korn., but not by Bt.). Ml. assumed a lacuna after *Karthagini*, but according to Dahl there are no traces of such a lacuna in P. One or two Mss. insert *resistendum sit* (I), *resistat* (v[2]), or *restituatur* (Colb. *sic* for *resistatur*) before *cui*; HE insert *inferatur* after *bellum*. The corruption, as in 10, 8, may be laid to a false division of clauses. Once connect *quo modo* with the preceding, and the insertion of *et* was inevitable, with the resulting statement (rather arrogant, surely) that Cato prescribes methods of warfare as well. Perhaps *-que* was inserted after *Karthagini*, and in uncials the corruption of *-que* into the meaningless *cui* of our Mss. would be especially easy. Anz conj. *quodam modo*, *K. cum*, Sch.[2]

6. **excisam** or *exscisam* codd., *excissam* V[i]v, Lambinus.

**19.** 2. **sextus**: a conj. of Manutius (Bt., Lm., Msn., Anz, Sch., Korn.) for *tertius* of the Mss., Hm., Ml., Reid, Ben.; cf. VI with III; Sb. conj. *quintus*.

5. **cum**: after this PHVvV[i2]L[2] all. insert *simul*.

6. **Num igitur**: here begins P[a].

**20.** 3. **externa** PP[a], etc., *externas* LHVvV[i]AMS.

7. **percontantur** PLVA[2]MV[i]P[a]P[b]EBS, edd., *percunctantur* A[1]Rv, *percontantibus* conj. Mommsen, Korn., Rock., *percontanti* conj. Deiter (*Philologus*, 46, 175), Anz. — **Veientes**: conj. ed., for *ut est* (or *ut*) of the Mss.; thus *ut est* PL[2]HMEBRISP[b]Ad and other inferior Mss., *ut* L[1]AVvP[a]V[i]Br, †*ut est* Ml., as obviously corrupt. What is lacking is the name of the foreign people (cf. *externa*, l. 3) from whose experience Cato points a lesson. It is scarcely credible that Cicero should have cited a foreign example without mention of the place. *Ludus* is not in itself sufficiently definite. If *ut est* is retained, it must be accepted as another instance of double recension; cf. on 3, 4–5, and Otto, *l.c.* The editor has discussed the whole passage in A.J.P. 23, 437–440. — **poetae Ludo**: the text is very uncertain; *poetae ludo* LAP[b]BIRSAd and some inferior Mss., *posteriori libro* P (*ludo* in marg.) V (*in nevii ludo* in marg.) v, *posteriore libro* ME, *poetae libro* V[i]P[a], *posteriore ludo* H. Of the editors Hm. reads *poetae* †*ludo*; Bt., Sb., Lm., Ml., Reid, Msn., Korn., Sch., Anz, *poetae Ludo*; Ribbeck conj. *Lupo* (from Festus

p. 270 M), adopted by Ben.; but Ribbeck no longer identifies the play *Lupus* with the *Romulus* of Naevius (*Trag. Rom. Fragg.*[3] p. 321–323). It is possible that we have in *poetae ludo* and the variants a corruption of the original name of the play. No one appears to have suspected *poetae*, though it is contrary to Cicero's practice to use such a formula as *Naevius poeta* in quoting. For the spelling *Ludo* = *Lydo*, cf. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 96, Büch. (and Isidore, *Origg.* 18, 16, 2, who derives *ludi* from *Lydi*).

**21**. 3. **nomina**: here ends $V^1$.

10. **quis** $LAV^1E$, *qui* $PHV^2vBRS$, Hm.

**22**. 3. **senibus** codd., *in senibus* v.

6. **quod propter** codd., *propter quod* HVv all.

**23**. 1. **hunc num Homerum num Hesiodum** AvBr., Orelli, Bt., Sb., Sch.; Ml. omits the second *num*; *hunc* (corr. *nunc*) *homerum num hesiodum* L, *hunc num* (*h*)*esiodum* codd., Hm., but these Mss. insert *num homerum* below (l. 3) after *Gorgiam*, where it is om. by Hm.

6. **in suis studiis**: bracketed by Msn., but cf. A. Otto, p. 103. — **obmutescere** codd., *obmutiscere* $PVP^a$, Lm., Bt., Sb.

7. **his**: om. PA.

**24**. 5. **his** QER, Bt., Sb., *aliis* codd., Hm., Ml. — **mirum est** $L^1A^1P^av$, *mirum sit* $L^2HA^2V$ codd.

10. **saeculo** codd., Ml., but *saeclo* in the Mss. of *T.D.* 1, 31, where the same verse is quoted, *saeclo* Hm., Bt. The abbrev. in H stands for *saeculo* rather than *saeclo*. — **prosient** $P^2$, *prosint* codd., Hm., Ml. G. Hermann and Heine restore the fragment as cretic. The metre has usually been treated as bacchiac. Anz and Korn. by transposition make a *senarius*; also Ribbeck in *Com. Rom. Fragg.*[3] p. 80.

**25**. 3–4. **accipere . . . prodere**: the idea of a *depositum* was sometimes applied to a life, *e.g.* by S. Ambrose in writing about the death of his brother (1, 3): *qui deposuit pignus, recepit. Nihil interest utrum abiures depositum, an doleas restitutum.*

14. **eumpse esse**: a conj. of Fleckeisen, Ml., edd., *eum se esse* $L^1A^1VvP^a$, *eum ipsum esse* Nonius, 1, 6 M, *se esse* $H^2E$, *esse* $PH^1BSM$, *esse se* I, Hm., *esse odiosum se* R, *ei se esse* $A^2$, *esse odiosum ipsum altius* $P^b$. In Nonius *l.c.* L. Müller accepts the conj. *eumpse*. — **alteri**: Nonius understood this to be general, for he quotes these verses as proof of his statement: *Senium est taedium et odium, dictum a senectute, quod senes omnibus odio sint et taedio* (1, 1 M).

**26**. 9. **qui** codd., *quod* $P^a$. — **et**: om. $P^aB$.

11. **et**: conj. Madvig, Hm., Ml., *ut* PLHAV rell.

15. **discebant . . . antiqui**: bracketed by some, *e.g.* Lm., Sb., Msn., but cf. A. Otto, p. 102.

**27.** 1. **Nec** PHAR all., Hm., Sb., Ml., edd., *ne* VBEIS, Reid, Shuckb.
10. **Sextus Aelius** L¹A¹, *sextus aemilius* L²A²Pᵃ codd., *sextus emilius* PHVv.

**28.** 3. **Omnino**: Knapp, *Proceedings Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1898, p. v, makes *sed tamen* refer to *orator metuo ne*, etc., while he thinks *Omnino* looks backward as a correction, and not forward to *sed tamen*, which is squarely against the usual practice with *omnino . . . sed tamen*. Cf. Knapp in *C.R.* 14 (1900), 214, in explanation and confirmation of the article just cited. Cf. also Anz. Msn. (p. 65) classes this with the *refutatio* which begins with a concession; but here the thing conceded is not the thing charged. Cf. A.J.P. 23, 436–437. — **splendescit**: for this Hennings (Fleck. *Jb.* 147, 781–2) conj. *s(u)plendescit*, i.e. **sublentescit* (cf. Barendt in *C.R.* 13 (1899), 402; 14 (1900), 356). Others have felt the difficulty of retaining *splendescit*, — a difficulty which appears to be satisfactorily met by the explanation in the commentary. Sb.¹² approves Henning's conj. (though preferring his own *subtenuescit*), but retains *splendescit* † in the text.

6. **per se ipsa** L¹A¹Pᵃ, Ml., Sb.¹¹, edd., *persaepe* (*persepe*, *per sepe*) *ipsa* PHA²Vv codd., Nonius, 343, 25 M, Hm., Bt., Sb.¹², Lm., Reid, Ben.

7. **senis** codd., edd., *seni* Madvig, Sb.¹², Reid, Anz, etc. — **cocta** A¹Br, *oota* L¹, *compta* L²HA² all., edd., *composita* Q, Bt., Lm., Msn., Reid, Egbert, Korn., Ws.; Nonius *l.c.* cites this passage, but only one of his MSS. (Gen²) has *compta*, while BGen¹H¹ have the corrupt *dissertis sermonibus coacta*. Hence the probability that *cocta* is the true reading (*composita* does not occur among the vv. ll. of Nonius). It is usual to defend *compta* by certain passages in Quintilian (10, 1, 79), Seneca (*Ep.* 75, 6), and Tacitus (*Ann.* 6, 15; *Hist.* 1, 19); but in all of these instances the word implies more of rhetorical finish than is in keeping with the present passage.

**29.** 1. **An ne tales**: conj. Schenkl, for the corrupt *annales* of most of the MSS., — LPHVvAE¹BPᵃKM [V even attempts to explain its impossible reading by the note *quae per singulos annos percurrunt*], *an tales* S, *an ne has* E²RI; the editions have generally followed Halm in his reading *an ne eas*, or his other conjecture *an ne illas* (Ml.); Ad has *anne has annales*.

7. **ipsa ista** LP¹AvM, Ml., *ista ipsa* P²HVBERS, Hm.; the latter is the regular order elsewhere (cf. 48, 1); this is said, in fact (Ben. p. 125), to be the only instance in the Orations and Philosophical

Works. But it is not conceivable that Cicero bound himself by an *invariable* law of order. Unusual emphasis upon *ipsa* (because he is repeating the thought which stood at the very end of the last sentence, *defecerint . . . defectio*) brings it to the fore, as in *Acad.* 2, 47 : *ipsi etiam illi.* Statistics, to be of any value, should include *ille ipse*, *is ipse*, *hic ipse*, etc. Cf. below on 82, 10.

**30**. 6. **et** : om. Q.

**31**. The whole section reads like an insertion — not altogether happy — in revision ; A. Otto, p. 95.

2. **Iam enim tertiam** $L^1$AVvBESIM, Korn., Sch., *tertiam iam enim* PR, Ml., *tertiam enim iam* HQ, Hm., Bt.

3. **videbat** $L^1$AV$v^2$M$H^1$ (prob.), Sb., Ml., *vivebat* $H^2$ (in ras.) codd., Hm., Bt. — **vera** codd., *vere* $L^1$.

6. **quam ad** $L^1$A all., *ad quam* PH$L^2$Vv$P^a$.

7. **ut** : om. P$P^a$.

8. **ut Nestoris** LR ; through the confusion of VT with VI the rdg. *sex* (*VI*) *nestoris* appears in PHVv$P^a$MBEIS, and *vi nestoris* in A.

**32**. 2. **possem** AHBSM, *possim* L, *posse* PVvER marg. QI (for V cf. de Groot).

6. **Acilio** $L^1H^2$A$P^a$vBrBERS, Anz, Korn., Sch., om. $P^1$, edd. (while $P^2$ has *aci . . .* in marg., and V has *celi o* suprascr.).

**33**. 4. **ne ille** PH, edd. ; LA$P^a$VvBIS have *ne ille quidem*, an obvious repetition from *Ne vos quidem*, l. 1.

7. **Vtrum igitur** H (*utrum* suprascr.), also conj. Manutius, Ml., edd. Here again various corruptions of the text have resulted from a mistaken division of words between the end and the beginning of the two sentences, in spite of the fact that *igitur* was thus brought to the beginning of the sentence ; thus — *uirum. igitur* L (so Dahl, 1, p. 17 ; 2, p. 26 ; the punct. was overlooked by Mommsen), *uiuum igitur* P$L^2P^a$Vv$Q^2$SM, *uiuum utrum igitur* BER, *uirum* $A^1$, *uires* $A^2$, *uiuum igitur utrum* I : Hm. reads *vivum: igitur* ; $Sb.^{12}$ reads [*vivum*]. *Vires* (cf. $A^2$), while $Sb.^{11}$, Msn., Schneidewin have *vivum. Utrum igitur.*

9. **paululum** LHAEQ, Ml., Sb., Msn., Korn., Ben., *paulum* PVvBRS, Hm., Bt., Lm., Reid, Anz, Sch., *paulo* M.

12. **parti aetatis** M, Nonius, 408, 2 M, *parci etatis* A (in ras.), *parcitatis* PL*(corr.)HVvK (in H partly corr.), *particitatis* I, *parti* (om. *aetatis*) BER.

**34**. 1. **Audire** PV all., Hm., Ml., edd., *audisse* $L^1H^2P^a$v$A^2$E, $Sb.^{12}$ — **avitus** edd., *habitus* codd.

4. **autem** : om. by some edd., as Orelli, Sb., Msn. — **imbri** $L^1$VM, Nonius, 395, 7 M, 246, 23, *imbre* PH rell.

6. **siccitatem corporis** LHA²PªVvBSI, Ml., *corporis siccitatem* PER, Nonius, 395, 8 M, Hm. (A¹ is corrupt, but has same order as A²).

7. **in senectute** ER, edd., *senectute* P codd., *senectuti* H; in most of the Mss. *in* has been absorbed in the final letter of *etiam*.

9. **Ne sint** R, Hm., Bt., Ben., *nedesint* P, *ne desint* HE²KM, *nec desint* E¹, *de desint* A², *non desunt* V, *non sunt* L¹A¹vBIS, Sb., Ml, Msn.; cf. on 17, 5; Knapp in *Proceedings Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1898, p. vi. The thesis-form in indic. can stand at the beginning of a discussion (cf. 15, 7), but not in the middle of it, especially where a point is conceded merely for the sake of argument.

10. **vires**: om. Ws., bracketed Msn. (a gloss, Hm.), defended by A. Otto, p. 102.

11. **quae non** ERv, edd., *quoniam* (usually abbrev.) PL²VABISK, *quando* L¹, *quae* H.

**35.** 1. **At multi** codd., *ad multa* A¹, corr. A².

4. **Africani** codd., *africanus* PVE.

8. **sint** LPHA²VERK, Ml., *sunt* A¹BIS, Hm.

12. **morbum** PHPªVvM all., Hm., Lm., Reid, Ben., *morborum* K, *morborum vim* L, Ml., Sb.¹², edd., but *vim* in L is suprascr. m. 2 (so Dahl; 'm. 1 ut videtur,' Sch.).

**36.** 3–5. **Et corpora . . . levantur**: bracketed by Msn., defended by A. Otto, p. 99.

4. **defatigatione** L¹H²A¹VvPªEIKM, Ml. (cf. on 85, 12), *defetigatione* PL²H¹A² all., Hm., Bt.

5. **se exercendo** L¹AVvERK, Sch., Sb.¹², *exercitando* PHBSIM, Hm., Bt., *exercendo* Sb.¹¹, Ml., Msn., Ws.

6. **comicos** edd., *comicus* PLHAV rell., falsely connecting the word with *Caecilius*. — **hos** LH²ER, Ml., *hoc* PH¹V² rell., Hm., Bt.

**37.** 4. **senectuti** codd., *senectute* PHA².

6–7. **illa domo mos patrius et disciplina** ER, Hm., *illo animus patrius* (*patrias* P²) *disciplina* (*et disciplina* BSH²M) PL²H¹VMBSI; L¹ has been corrupted by the repetition of *domus*, thus — *illa domus* (so Mom. and Dahl) *patri domus disciplina*; *illa domus patri disciplina* A¹, *illo domu patris* A², *illa domo patris disciplina* Pªv, *illa domo patrius mos et disciplina* Graevius, Ml., Msn.

**38.** 2. **nemini mancipata** ERS¹MH² (*mantipata*), Hm., Bt., *neminem mancipata* L¹A¹ (in A¹ the final *m* of *neminem* is in ras.), *menti mancipata* PPªBL²KVv (*mannipata* Vv), H¹ (*mantipata*), *nemini emancipata* Nonius, 105, 15 M, Mom., Ml., Sb., Msn., etc. Since Plautus (*Curc.* 496) used *mancipare* = *emancipare*, it is entirely possible that Cicero here makes Cato speak in old-fashioned terms (cf.

Dahl). The correction to the more familiar *emancipata* was sure to be made by the copyists. Certainty is impossible in such a case, but the more difficult and less obvious reading has been restored in the present text. Archaic *mancipata* had been corrected to *emancipata* before the time of Nonius.

5. **sequitur** codd., *sequetur* R.

9. **cum** $L^1A^1$ edd., *quam* $L^2PA^2VH^2$ rell.; $H^1$ is ambiguous. — **augurium** R, Ml., *augurum* L*PVvABESM rell., Hm.; the adj. is rare, but found *de Div.* 2, 70 *fin.*, *ad Fam.* 3, 9, 3. — **pontificium** $H^1VA^2$ codd., *pontificum* $H^2A^1$BEIvM.

12. **Haec** (*hec*) LVM, Ml., *hae* PHA rell., Hm., Bt., *heac* B.

14. **magno opere** $L^1P^a$ edd., *magnopere* PHAV rell., Sch.

17. **Quas si** codd., edd., *quae si* ERBr, Sb., Anz, Korn., *quesi* $A^1$.

19. **agere non possem** codd., Hm., Ml.; $L^1$ has *age*(*rem*) in ras. and omits *non possem . . . acta vita;* $A^1$ (*agere*(*m*)) makes the same omission; v omits *sed ut . . . acta vita*. From L Mom., Sb., and others have read *quae iam agerem. Semper enim*, etc. But if *acta vita* is omitted, *Semper enim* is left without sufficient logical connection. Such an omission is not uncommon, even in good Mss., and, especially on such a point, the authority of LA is not sufficient to outweigh the other Mss. Msn. brackets *quae . . . possem;* defended by A. Otto, p. 101. BE have *non possum;* V has *agerenen* (in ras. m. 1) *possem*.

21. **obrepat** codd., edd.; $P^1A^2$ have the rare word *obreptat*, the scribe perhaps imagining that *non intellegitur quando* could be treated on the analogy of *nescio quis*, *nescio quo modo*, and the like, and hence be followed by the indicative. The edd. generally hesitate to follow Madvig (on *Fin.* 1, 11) in connecting *viventi* with *obrepat* alone.

**39.** 3. **a** codd., edd., om. $A^1vP^a$ER; cf. 71, 11; both constructions are equally good for Cicero; cf. Krebs, *Antibarbarus*, $1^6$, p. 199.

9. **voluptatis**: bracketed by Bt. — **ecfrenate** $P^1$ all., *effrenate* $P^2L^{2*}$H $A^2$, *frenate* $L^{1*}A^1$.

**40.** 5. **excitari** codd., *exercitari* AK.

**41.** 3. **posset** $V^1$v (cf. Gemoll), Hm., Ml., required by sequence, but *possit* is found in $PLHV^2$AMK all. (in V acc. to Dahl).

8. **tamque pestiferum** $H^2$E codd., om. $PH^1$VvAK; L omits *que pestiferum*. The words are bracketed in the text as probably a gloss (Mommsen); *not* by the edd.

9. **longior** L*PHVvAI, Hm., Bt., Sb., Msn., Sch.$^2$, Anz, *longinquior* BERSM, Ml., Lm. If *longior* is correct, this is perhaps the only occurrence in Cicero of *longus* in this sense, except with words of time (Krebs, *op. cit.* $2^6$, p. 31).

14–16. **cum quidem . . . reperio**: bracketed Msn., defended by A. Otto, p. 100.

**42.** 1. **hoc** LPVvBS¹, Ml., *haec* HERS²M, Hm., Bt., om. A¹.

2. **esse habendam senectuti** PBSI, Hm., Bt., Sch., *habendam esse senectuti* LHAVvM, Ml., *habendam senectuti* (om. *esse*) E, *senectuti habendam* (om. *esse*) R. The first is the more probable for Cicero, as the more studied order.

13. **neutiquam** A² codd., Charisius, 208 K; P has *neuti quam* with a rasura which suggests an original *neutri* for *neuti*; so v has *neuti* (with *r* suprascr.) *probari* (om. *quam*); A¹ has *neuti*, H *neuticam*. Evidently some copyists, forgetting the old-fashioned word *neutiquam*, corrected to *neutri* and then failed (in P at least) to remove the superfluous *quam*.

14. **tam** (*perdita*) PHBRSM, Charisius, *l.c.*, om. LAVvE.

**43.** 1. **e** ER, Mom., Sch., *ea* L¹AV¹, *ea a* PL²V²BSI, *a* vPᵃM, Hm., *ea e* H; *ex* Bt. and Ml., as more in accordance with republican usage before consonants; but cf. *Lael.* 47: *e mundo*; *Brut.* 169: *e Marsis*; *Fin.* 2, 10: *e multis*.

**44.** 1. **Quorsus** LA¹M, Ml., *quorsum* PHA²Vv rell., Hm., Bt.

4. **exstructisque** AIS, *extructisque* codd., *extrunctisque* H.

5. **vinulentia** LP, Bt., Ml., *vinolentia* rell., Hm.

8–9. **quod ea pisces**: bracketed by Valckenaer, Lm., Msn., defended by A. Otto, p. 101.

10. **Duilium** Orelli; *Duillium* Sb.; *Duellium* codd., edd. — **M. f.**: the familiar abbreviation, H; it had been already restored by Lm, Ml.; A has *M̄ filium* with gloss: *marci*; Vv have *m. filium*, the other Mss. *Marci filium*, Hm., Bt.; but H² has *filium* suprascr., and M reads simply *m*.

**44.** 12. **cereo**: restored by Mom., Ml. and others from the corrupt readings, *crebro* PHPᵃA²V²vBESM, Hm., Bt., *credo* LA¹V¹R.

**46.** 11. **summo** edd., *summo magistro* codd.

12–13. **et refrigeratio . . . hibernus**: bracketed by Brieger, Sb., Msn., Anz, Korn., defended by A. Otto, p. 96, as not a mere double of 57, 5–7. Pᵃ has *refrigerantia in*, and v *refrigerantia* for *refrigeratio*.

**47.** 2. **ne** codd., *nec* PᵃAvM. — **desideratur** L¹, Bt., Sch., *desideratio* codd., Hm., Ml., edd., *desideras* E. *Desideratio* is a very rare word, found only in Vitruvius (who uses it in entirely different senses), unless it is to be accepted here. It is claimed that under the influence of *titillatio* the usual *desiderium* has given way to the rare *desideratio*. But Cato will not admit that old age is deprived altogether of pleasures, and has no craving for them. It is the *voluptatum tanta titillatio*

which is lacking, and not missed. Hence for logical reasons the reading of L[1] seems to outweigh the agreement of the other Mss.

2–3. **nihil autem . . . desideres**: bracketed by Polle (Fleck. *Jb.*, 131, 807), defended by A. Otto, pp. 99–100.

5. **libenter vero** L[1]A[1]V[1]vP[a]BRSIM, Ml., *libenter ego vero*, V[2], *ego libenter vero* E, *ego vero* PL[2]A[2]H[1], Hm., *ego vero libenter* H[2].

9. **hoc non desiderare** L[1]H[2]M rell., Ml., *non desiderare* PH[1], Hm., Bt. A omits *ergo hoc non desiderare*.

**48**. 5. **tamen** HVERM, Nonius, 417, 23 M, Hm., Ml.; om. LPA[2]P[a]v BIS rell.

6. **voluptates** codd., *voluptatem* P[2]P[a]Vv (P[1] obscure in ras.).

7. **eas** codd., *eam* VvP[a] (*in tantum* for *tantum* vP[a]), om. H.

**49**. 2. **contentionum** L*PAVMAd rell., Hm., Bt., Lm., Reid, *contentionis* Ml., Sch., etc.

5. **Vivere modo videbamus**: conj. ed.; several of the Mss. have *mori videbamus* (so L[1]P[b]BrMRSIB [*videbamur* B]), Ws., an impossible combination in such a context of a momentary and a continued action; *mori videamus* V; *videamus* (om. *mori*) PL[2]H[1], the same, but with *mori* in ras., E; *videbamus morari* v; A has ||| *vide* || *amus*; †*Mori videbamus* Ml., *Mori paene videbamus* is read by Sb.[12] (Orelli), *Videbamus* Hm., Bt. *Vivere videbamus* has been conj. by Iwan Müller (Bursian, 26, 2, p. 126); *Exerceri videbamus* by Ben. *Mori* is held by Mom. and Dahl to be an interpolation; in H[2] it is suprascr. *Vivere*, having occurred but two lines above, would be easily omitted in careless copying, or deliberately changed into *mori*; *modo* might also account for *videamus*, in over-hasty correction.

6. **in studio** L[2]PHVvBRSE (in ras.), om. L[1]A[1]Br; cf. 38, 20: *in his studiis . . . viventi*; *Fam.* 9, 26, 1: *Vivas . . . in litteris*.

7. **C.** Q, om. codd. — **Galum** P[1], Ml. Bt., om. Q, *gaium* H, *Gallum* rell., Hm.

**50**. 3. **Pseudolo** PM, Hm., Ml., *spеudolo* R, *pseudulo* LHAVP[a]BEIS, Bt. (in V it is *p seudulo*). — **Vidi . . . Livium**: on this passage, cf. Hendrickson in A.J.P. 19 (1898), p. 291 (cf. *ib.* 437).

8. **Atque** LA[1]R, Ml., *atqui* PHA[2]Vv rell., Hm.

**51**. 4. **enim** codd., *etiam* PH; A[2] has adscr. *vel etiam*.

5. **imperium**: *impendium* was conj. by Manutius and revived by Luňák (*Philologus*, 52, 347). — **nec cuiquam** Mom., Bt., *ne cuiquam* L, *nec umquam* codd., edd.

6. **faenore** codd., *fenore* PA, *foenore* V.

9. **occaecatum** R, Nonius, 42, 13, L. Müller (*obcaecatum* in some Mss. of Non.), *occecatum* A[2]VS[2], *hoccecatum* L, *occatum* HvBIS all.,

*occa . . . tum* P (ras. 3 litt.), *occetatum* $A^1$E. Cicero's derivation of the word was taken seriously by Isidore, *Origg.* 17, 1, 4.

10. **dein** L*HAVvBIS, *deinde* P, edd. The abbreviated form *dein* was frequently used by Cicero before words beginning with a consonant (so all exx. cited from Cicero by Neue, $2^3$, p. 672), while *deinde* is regular before vowels; cf. Stolz, *op. cit.* 1, p. 337; Lindsay, 122, 570. Cf. 53, 4.

13. **erecta** $H^2$v, edd., Nonius, 225, 29 M, *recta* P$H^1$AVM rell.

14. **ex** LPV, Ml., *e* A (in ras.) codd., Nonius, 225, 30 M (where L. Müller reads *ec;* cf. Neue, $2^3$, 868), Hm.; cf. crit. note on 43, 1.

15. **structam** $L^{1*}H^1$ER, edd., *structo* $L^{2*}PH^2VA^2$, *extructam* $A^1$v, *ex(s)tructo* BISM.

**52.** 3. **requietem** $PH^1A^2V^2vBE^1$RSAdM, Priscian, 242 K, Hm., Bt., Lm., Reid, Sch. [cf. *Leg.* 2, 2; 2, 29; *Fin.* 5, 54], *requiem* $LA^1V^1E^2$, Ml., Sb., Msn., Anz, Korn. The rarer 3d decl. form is here supported by Priscian; *quietem* $H^2$.

5. **acini** $PH^1VP^aP^b$, Nonius, 193, 16 M, *acino* $H^2$v rell.

7. **viviradices** edd. from Cato, *R.R.* 33, 3, Varro, *R.R.* 1, 35, 1, *vites radices* codd.

8. **nonne efficiunt** $L^1A^1$, Ml., *nonne ea efficiunt* PHV$A^2$M rell., Hm., *non ea efficiunt* R.

**53.** 4. **dein** LPAVv$E^1$BIS$R^2$ (in ras.) KM, Sb., Sch., Korn., *de inde* H, *deinde* $E^2$, Hm., Ml.; cf. on 51, 10.

**54.** 1. **dixi**, etc.: cf. A. Otto, p. 100. — The Roman religion in early times honored a number of separate divinities for the various tasks of the farmer; cf. Usener's *Götternamen*.

8. **apium** edd., *et apium* PAVvBEISAd, *et apum* H.

**55.** 2. **haec** $LA^1P^a$, Ml., *ea* PH$A^2$V rell., Hm., Bt.

3. **et studio** $H^2$E, *a studio* $PH^1$AVv$P^a$BIRS.

4. **natura** codd., Nonius, 419, 6 M, om. $P^1H^1$V.

5. **Ergo** codd., om. $P^aA^1$.

6. **triump(h)avisset** $L^{1*}$(in ras.)PAVvS, Hm., Bt., *triumphasset* HB EIR, Ml., Sch.

9. **me** codd., edd.; *mea* has been conj. with probability by Maehly, in view of the following *admirari*, Msn., Anz, Korn., Sch., Ben.; but for times when a Roman owned as a rule but one villa *a me* seems perfectly natural.

14. **non efficere** RE, Sb., Sch., *efficere non* L*PHVvABIS, Hm., Ml., *non efficere non* M.

**56.** 10. **scio an nulla** edd. (and possibly M); a necessary correction of the Mss. *scio an ulla;* H has *scio anulla*, $L^1A^1$ *scio nulla*.

12. **qua** LPHAVM all., Sch., Korn., *quam* vP$^a$, Hm., Sb., Bt., Reid, Ben., *de qua* conj. Opitz, Ml., Msn., Anz. For *quam* cf. 43, 13; 53, 10; 65, 3 (all with preceding demonstrative); *de Orat.* 3, 45: *ut ille quem dixi; Off.* 1, 86: *illa quae dixi.* It would be easier to assume that a stroke over the *a* has been lost in the best Mss. than that *de* has fallen out after *delectatione.* But *quam dixi* in Cicero would mean 'which I have mentioned,' which does not suit the elaboration of the idea in 51–53.

**57.** 6. **aut** L$^{1*}$A$^1$V$^1$vR, Nonius, 482, 16 M, *aeque* PA$^2$V$^2$EM, *eque* H, *aeque aut* BISAd, *atque* L$^{2*}$.

**58.** The whole section is bracketed by Sb., Msn., defended by A. Otto, p. 96. (cf. Lütjohann, *Rhein. Mus.* 37, 499). To Otto the ed. is indebted in the note on 58, 1: *hastas.*

1. **Habeant igitur sibi** PA$^2$E, Hm., Sch.$^2$, *habeant igitur* A$^1$, *sibi habeant igitur* L*VvP$^a$BRISM, Ml., Korn., *sibi igitur (h)abeant* HQ, Bt.

3. **id ipsum** codd., om. L$^1$P$^a$.

4. **utrum** codd., edd., *unum* PHVKI; *ut* has been conj. or defended by various edd., as Reid, Egbert, Ben.: *utcumque* by others, as Anz, Ws. (cf. Ml. adn. crit.). It is true that with *libet* it is usual to employ either *quod* or *ut*, but that *utrum libet* was never used is incredible; cf. R. 1697. There is thus no reason to read *ut* instead of *utrum.*

**59.** 4. **Atque** L$^{1*}$A codd., edd., *atque etiam* PHVBSM (I, with *ut* before *etiam*); L$^{2*}$ has *etiam* suprascr.

6. **libro** codd., *libro quo* P$^2$Av.

10. **comem** L$^1$ (Dahl), edd., *comen* A$^1$, *communen* A$^2$, *communem* PL$^2$HV rell., Sb.

13. **derectos** M, Nonius, 401, 1 M, Bt., Ml.; *directos* codd., Hm.

17. **discripta** P$^1$B, *descripta* LP$^2$HAVvM rell.

18. **discriptio** LPAv, *descriptio* HVM rell.

22. **Rite** PL$^2$HAVvM, Sb., Ml., *ritu* L$^1$, *recte* BEIRS rell., Hm., Bt.

23. **coniuncta** codd., *convincta* P$^1$.

**60.** 8. **maiores** LPH$^1$VvM, Bt., Ml., *maiores nostri* H$^2$ codd., Hm.

**61.** 2. **A.**: suppl. Fleckeisen, Bt., Sb., Ml.

3. **Hunc unum** Madv., Fleck., Hm., Sb., Ml., *unicum* LPHAVvP$^a$ rell., *unum hunc* Orelli, Bt. (but v. Bt.'s *praef.* p. vi).

5. **est totum carmen** PH$^2$A$^2$L$^2$VvP$^a$E, Lm., Reid, Anz, Ben., *est itiotum carmen* L$^1$A$^1$Br, *estimo tum carmen* H$^1$, *totum est carmen* BRS, *est carmen* codd. Pal. (Gruteri), edd., Hm., Bt., Ml., edd., *totum carmen est* I, *extimo carmen* Q, *est id totum carmen* conj. Mom., Fleck., Sb.$^{12}$; M reads *notum totum est;* Vahlen writes *notum est vobis carmen, l.c. infra.*

9. **iam ante** L*PHVvERSAd, Vahlen (*Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymn.* 24, 246; Plasberg in *Rhein. Mus.* 53, 85), *ut iam ante* AI, edd.; $L^{1*}$ has *laquara ut iam*, corr. by $L^2$ into *loquar aut iam.*

**63.** 3. **consuli**: bracketed by Msn., Otto (p. 103).

4. **optime** codd., *optimae* P. — **est** codd., *sunt* PHEA (here again A has been corrected by P).

10. **magno consessu** $H^2$ codd., *magno consensu* $H^1A^1P^aM$ ($A^1$ has the same in l. 14), *cum magno consensu* v.

13. **consederant** codd., *considerant* $P^1$HM.

**64.** 1. **in vestro** $L^2VvAP^{a1}M$, Ml., *in ūro* (*ur̃o*) PHERI, *viro* $L^1$, *in nostro* $BSP^{a2}$, Hm.

3. **principatum** codd., *primatum* $P^a$.

**65.** 2. **morum vitia** $H^2P^a$ codd., *morbi vitia* $PH^1VA^2M$, *morvitia* $A^1$.

3. **Ac** $P^2$ codd., *at* $P^1S$, *haec* $P^a$, *hec* vI. — **tamen et ea vitia** $L^1P^2H^2V$ $A^1P^a$ all., *tamen cum id ei videatis* $P^1$ (in ras.) $L^2A^2$ by confusion with 68, 2 in P, from which the rdg. was introduced into L and A, and (in a different way) into $H^1$.

11. **aetas naturave**: conj. ed., *aetas naturae* $PL^2HA^2EKM$, *natura* (om. *aetas*) $L^1A^1VP^aBQRIS$, Hm., Ml., edd., *aetas* codd. all. (cf. Bt.); the conj. is based upon the ease with which *naturave* would lose the enclitic *-ve* or its initial *v* before *vetustate*. In the former case the rejection of *aetas* would then be almost inevitable. Bezzenberger's conj. *aetas matura* has been adopted by Bt., Sch. Sb. conj. *hominis natura.*

12. **sed** PHAv and apparently L, Hm., Bt., Ml., *et* VBREIS, Sb., *ut* M.

15. **restat** $LH^1vERIK$, Sb., Sch., Korn., *restet* $PH^2VBSM$, Hm., Bt., Ml.

**66.** 3. **esse longe** LP (*longae*) HAvMK, Bt., Ml., edd., *longe abesse* V rell., Hm.

**67.** 2. **est tam** $H^2vER$, Nonius, 294, 13 M, edd., *etiam* $PLH^1AVP^a$, *est* M

**68.** 1. **est istud**: conj. Wesenberg, edd., *est istius* $LPH^1VvABI^1S$ MK, *est illud* $ERI^2$, *est* $H^2$.

3. **tu in exspectatis** $P^2H^2A^2$ (cf. Dahl, 1, p. 21); *tum expectatis* $P^1H^1$ $A^1V$, *tum in expectatis* M codd.; v omits *tu in*; $P^a$ has *filiorum* for *filio tu in.*

4. **ad** $H^2$ codd., om. $PH^1AV$.

10. **cum** codd., Madvig, Hm., Bt., Anz, Sch., *quod* conj. Lambinus, Ml. With the latter reading the clause becomes causal, — one of the most familiar forms. Other conj. are *quoniam* Sb., Reid, Korn., Ben.,

Ws., *si quidem* Lm. Keeping *cum* we have the explanatory clause. 'in that. . . .' In this form the tenses in protasis and apodosis are usually the same (cf. L. 1874, G. 582, who limit this to coincident clauses; R. 1729; B. 290), but present may be paired with perfect, as is shown by *de Orat.* 2, 154: *quo etiam maior vir habendus est* [sc. *Numa*], *quom illam sapientiam constituendae civitatis duobus prope saeculis ante cognovit*, *quam*, etc.; cf. Kühner, 2, p. 881. Though much more frequent in the older language than in the time of Cicero, this is not to be counted a conscious archaism. Cf. Elmer on Ter., *Phorm.* 966. — **quod** $H^2$ codd., *quidem* $H^1$. — **est** codd., edd., *sit* conj. Brieger, Sch., Anz.

**69**. 1. **natura diu** $PL^2HA^1VvP^a$, Ml. ($A^2$ has *vel vita* adscr.), *natura* $L^1$ (om. *est*), *vita diu* BRESM, Hm., *vita diuturnum* conj. Sch.

2. **supremum** codd., Hm., Sch., *summum* L, Ml.

4. **regnavit** $L^1V^1vA^1R$, Sb., Ml., *regnaverit* $V^2BSM$, *regnaverat* $PL^2HA^2EI$, Hm., Bt.

5. **vixit** Hm's Duisburgensis, Orelli, Ml., *vixerit* $L^1VA^1P^aBEIRSM$, *vixerat* $PL^2HA^2v$, Hm., Bt.

11. **cuique** $P^2H^2A^2$ codd., *cumque* $P^1H^1$, *cuiquam* $L^1VA^1$ (in ras.) $P^a$.

**70**. 1–3. **Neque . . . veniendum (est)**: bracketed by Msn., defended by A. Otto, p. 97.

2. **sapienti** V (in ras.) BRSM, edd., *sapientibus* LPHAvE, Sb., Msn., Reid, Sch., an easy corruption before *usque*, whereas both symmetry (with *histrioni*, l. 1) and euphony favor the singular. In V plur. seems to have been corr. into sing.

3. **veniendum** $LP^1HBrR$, Sb., Anz, Sch.², Korn. (cf. Dahl), *veniendum est* $P^2VABESM$, Hm., Bt., Ml. The repetition of *est* has been defended as after the manner of Cicero (cf. Ml.'s examples).

8. **autem** codd., om. R all., Sb.

9. **fructibus** codd., *frugibus* H, Nonius, 244, 34 M.

**71**. 1. **ante partorum** $L^{1*}A^1VH^2$ codd., *peractorum* $L^{2*}PH^1A^2K$, *positorum* $P^av$.

9. **sunt** codd., *sint* $PA^2E$; $A^1$ omits *si sunt*. — **vix evelluntur** L*P $H^1ABr$, edd., *vi evelluntur* $H^2$, *vi avelluntur* BIRSvM, Ben., *vi evellentur* VE, *vix avelluntur* Orelli.

**72**. 3. **possis** $H^1VBERSM$, Hm., Bt., Sb., Msn., Sch.², Ben., Ws., *possit* $PH^2A^2v^2$, Ml., Reid, Korn., *posset* $LA^1v^1Br$; the best Mss. have altered the original 2d person, under the influence of the following *senectus sit*. — **mortemque contemnere**: bracketed by the edd., Madvig, etc.; *mortemque contem(p)nere* P (Dahl) $H^1A^2$, *et mortem contemnere* $H^2$, *tamen mortem contemnere* (om. *ex quo fit ut*) L, *et tamen mortem*

*contem(p)nere* VvP$^a$BIRSM, Sch.$^2$, *et tamen mortem non timere* E. The variety might suggest an interpolation from the margin, or — and more probably — attempts to patch the text after a lacuna; cf. A. Otto, p. 101; Lütjohann, *Rhein. Mus.* 37, 504–505. It is not necessary, however, to assume with the latter, that the lacuna contained some allusion to the Stoic defence of suicide, which would seem out of keeping with the allusion to Solon, l. 5, or with 73 *init.* The contempt of death which Cicero means is not of the violent order, but a serene indifference to that which is inevitably at hand.

7. **respondisse** codd., edd., *respondit* ER, Sch.$^2$, Anz; the latter would be a good rdg. in itself, but probably the omission of *dicitur* was the first stage of corruption, then came the change to *respondit.* — **dicitur**, om. LA$^1$VBrER.

10–12. **Ut navem . . . dissolvit**: bracketed by Msn.; Otto brackets *sic hominem . . . dissolvit* (p. 98).

**73.** 3. **iniussu** codd., *ni iussu* H.

4. **est elogium** M, conj. Hm. (but not adopted by him), Bt., Ml., Lm., Msn., Anz, Reid, *elogium* P$^1$LHP$^{a1}$, *elogium est* P$^2$AVvP$^{a2}$ rell., Hm., edd.; *est* having been omitted (and more readily after *sapientis* than after *elogium*) has been supplied by the copyists in most of the later Mss. Bt., after Gesner and Wolf, spells *elegium* (*eulogium* BI).

8. **dacrumis**: conj. Bergk, Sb., Msn., Korn., Anz, Ben., Ws., *lacrumis* or *lacrimis* codd., Hm., Bt., Ml.

**74.** 1. **isque ad** codd., *usque ad* PA$^1$K, *usque ab* H.

5. **animo esse** codd., *esse animo* AVvBS.

6. **et incertum** LPAVH$^1$K, Bt., Sb., Ml., *et id incertum* H$^2$vBERS M, Hm. — **hoc** PHA$^2$ edd., *hac* (*in hac ipsa*) A$^1$, *eo* V codd., *et* L.

7. **qui** P$^1$L$^1$H$^1$A$^1$, *quis* rell.

**75.** 2. **recorder** codd., edd., *recordor* SE, Sb.$^{11}$, Reid.

11. **saepe profectas** MQR, Bt., Ml., edd., *se profectas* L$^1$A$^1$ (*prophectas* L$^1$), *esse profectas* L$^2$PH$^1$A$^2$VvP$^a$I (but in H$^2$ *saepe* precedes *locum* — a correction of a superfluous *esse* in H$^1$), *saepe esse profectas* BS, Hm., *profectas saepe* E.

12. **erecto** codd., *recto* PHA.

**76.** On a possible transposition with 73, cf. A. Otto, p. 95.

1. **studiorum** LPHVvAI$^1$SK, Ml., edd., *rerum* ERI$^2$M, Hm., Bt., Lm., Reid, *studiorum rerum* B.

2. **studia certa** codd., edd., *certa studia* VvER, Sb., Msn.

**77.** 1. **Equidem — non enim**: the punctuation is that of the ed.; *equidem non enim* VM; P has a lacuna (just space for *equidem*) before *non enim; equidem non* H$^2$EBIRS, Sb., Anz, Ben., *non enim* LAv (A$^2$

having *equidem* in marg.), Hm., Bt., Ml., *non omni* H[1]; Msn. conj. *Etenim non*. If the difficulty is not entirely removed by punctuation, *Non equidem* (with the usual pointing) would be a more plausible reading. From this a transposition in some Mss., a corruption into *enim* in others, would readily account for what the codd. give us. For *non equidem*, cf. *ad Q. Fr*. 2, 15, 4.

3. **ego**: the editions begin a new sentence here.

4. **tuum, Scipio, tuumque, Laeli**: suggested by Bt., but not admitted to his text; adopted by Sch., Ben., Anz, Korn., Ws.; *tu scipio tuque Laeli* LPBrA (*C*. in ras.), Bt., *P. Scipio* (*tu scipio* v) *tuque C. Laeli* VvBSM, Hm., Ml.; R has the same, omitting *C*., E the same as BS except for *lelii*; H has *tu Scipio et G. Laeli*. It is true, as Ml. says, that the best Mss. often omit praenomina, but why should they appear only here in the entire dialogue? Cf. 35, 10.

9. **domicilio**: after this in P a rasura (ca. 9 letters).

12. **tuerentur**: an elaborate discussion of the meaning of this word, and an interpretation of the whole passage, may be found in the *Zeitschrift f. d. Gymnasialwesen* 33 (1879), 695 ff. The author, G. Schneider, cites a number of other passages in Cicero which deal with man's duty to cultivate the soil, and to maintain social order, *e.g. N. D.* 2, 99, 130, 152, 156; *Somn. Sc.* 15.

**78.** 3. **quin ex**: P ends with these words; from this point on its readings have to be guessed from H and L²A². Ramorino would rely upon VM.

7. **oraculo Apollinis** LHAVvQBISM, Ml., edd., *Apollinis oraculo* ER², Hm., Bt., Sb., Msn. — **mihi persuasi** H (perhaps representing P) P^bER, Nonius, 41, 30 M, Hm., Bt., *persuasi mihi* LAVvBSIMK, Sb., Ml. The impossibility of discovering a passage in Plato, which in the least suggests the argument for immortality drawn from the unlimited capacities of the mind, has been passed over in silence by the commentators, although they retain the words *Haec Platonis fere*, after *recordari*, l. 20. In *T. D.* 1, 66, Cicero quotes a parallel passage from his *Consolatio*, which was based upon Crantor, who wrote the first commentaries on Plato, and in his amplifications of Platonic teaching may possibly have suggested this train of thought to Cicero. Schneider, *op. cit.* 699 ff., doubts whether any thought of Plato's underlies Cicero's argument at this point, but shows that from the doctrine of ideas a proof of immortality, more or less similar to this, could be constructed. Yet the Platonic ideas do not seem to have been the starting-point for Cicero. The difficulty is removed if *Haec Platonis fere* is considered an interpolation, as proposed by A. Otto, pp. 103–4. A marginal note calling

attention to Cicero's obligations to Plato may well have been added by more than one hand (note the variants), and later incorporated with the text. Removing these words, the passage from *sic mihi persuasi* gains new force, and may claim — at least in its first argument — some measure of independence.

10. **tantae scientiae**: bracketed by Bt., Msn., defended by A. Otto, p. 103; H$^1$ has *tantae sententiae*.

11. **agitetur animus** codd., *animus agitetur* P$^b$ER.

12. **se ipse** codd., *ipse se* P$^a$R; H$^1$ has *quia se ipso se*.

14. **esset natura** LBISM, Ml., Sb., etc., *natura esset* HAVP$^a$ rell., Hm., Bt., Msn., etc.; the editors are about evenly divided. The former, as the less commonplace order, is the more probable.

16. **posset** L$^1$H$^2$BERSIKQ, Ml., Sb., *possit* L$^2$H$^1$VAP$^a$P$^b$M all., Hm., (for V cf. de Groot, for A cf. Clark).

20. **recordari**: after this the edd. read *Haec Platonis fere*, bracketed by A. Otto (pp. 103–4); cf. on l. 7; *Platonis fere* codd., edd., *Platonis fere sunt* P$^b$, *Plato vester* VAdBIS, *Plato dicit vester* M.

**79.** 1. **autem**: bracketed by Otto, *l.c.*, as an interpolation by the same hand as *Haec Platonis fere*; retained in the text as more probably genuine.

2. **mihi** LHAVvBRIM, Sb., Ml., *mei* EP$^b$, Hm., Bt., *mi* S.

**80.** 3. **diutius** ERAd$^2$, edd., *iustius* LHAVvP$^a$Ad$^1$BISMK. — **teneremus** codd., edd., *tuerentur* H$^1$A$^2$K$^1$. — **numquam persuaderi** codd., Sb., Ml., *persuaderi numquam* EI$^1$, Hm., Bt.

6. **tum** vERM$^1$ (in ras.), edd., *tunc* L*HAVP$^a$BISM$^2$.

10. **discedat** L*H$^1$AVI, edd., *discedant* H$^2$vP$^a$BENRSM.

12. **discessit** LHVBrK (A acc. to Clark), Mom., Reid, Anz, *discesserit* BSAd$^1$, *discedit* codd. rell., edd. The last has been preferred by the edd. as a closer rendering of ἀπιοῦσα (*Cyr.* 8, 7, 20), but *cum discessit* is the more natural opposite of *cum adest*, and the difference in time infinitesimal.

**81.** 5. **corporum** LHVBISMBr, Sch., Anz, Korn., *corporis* rell., Hm., Bt., Sb., Ml.

**82.** 1. **umquam mihi** codd., Hm., Bt., Ml., *mihi umquam* EP$^a$, Sb.

6. **ad se ipsos pertinere**: conj. Opitz, Ml., Sb., *ad se posse pertinere* LHVvBrP$^a$BISNM, *ad se pertinere* ER, Hm., Bt., Sch.; A$^1$ omits the whole *nisi*-clause; in this connection *posse* is entirely out of keeping with the confident tone; *se* could scarcely stand unemphasized after *quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent*; in the contrast *ipsos* seems inevitable. — **An censes** VBERSM edd, *anne censes* LAv, Lm., Reid,

but Cicero appears to use *anne* only in disjunctive questions; H has *an necesse est*, a corruption of L.

7. **ipse** L$^{1}$VvAP$^{a}$BISM, Sb., Ml., *ipso* rell., Hm., Bt.

10. **melius multo** codd., Hm., Ml., Sb., *multo melius* E, Ben., who argues that the cases (three in the Philosophical Works, besides the present instance) which represent Cicero as using *melius multo*, and the like, for *multo melius* are open to suspicion, since some two hundred instances in the same works follow the general rule. But in each of the three cases cited by him there is an obvious reason why *multo* should take the unemphatic position, and in one case (*Acad.* 2, 82) *ne maiorem quidem multo* cannot possibly be emended to square with statistics. Cf. on 29, 7. — **otiosam aetatem et quietam** codd., *otiosam aetatem et quiaetatem* L$^{1}$ (*quietem* L$^{2}$), *otiosam et quietam aetatem* N; A$^{1}$ omits *et quietam*.

11. **labore et contentione** L (Dahl) H$^{2}$VvA$^{1}$ (v. Clark) INAd (*contemptione* H$^{1}$A$^{2}$v) Hm., Sb., Bt., *aut labore et contentione* P$^{a}$M, *aut* (*aut* suprascr.) *labore aut contentione* R, Ml., Ram. [Ml. wrongly credits this to L; from de Vries' silence it would be inferred that A$^{1}$ agrees with Ml.], *aut labore aut contradictu* E, *labore* BS, Sch.

14. **ni** HA$^{2}$V codd., *nisi* LA$^{1}$vP$^{a}$E.

15. **haud** H codd., *haut* NAd, *aut* LAvP$^{a1}$, *an* P$^{a2}$.

16. **inmortalitatem et gloriam** LHA$^{2}$VP$^{a}$K, Sb., Ml., Msn., *inmortalitatis gloriam* BSI, Hm., Bt., Reid, *mortalem gloriam* Rv, *inmortalem niteretur gloriam* P$^{b}$, *immortalitatem* E, *immortalem gloriam* NM., Lm.

**83.** 4. **cuius** LARv all., Sb., Ml., edd., *cui* HVP$^{a}$QBINSEM, Hm., Bt.

6. **vero** codd., Nonius, 270, 40 M, *enim* LHAVP$^{a}$. — **solos** LAVvP$^{a}$B EINS, Ml., Sch., edd. recc., *solus* H, *solum* MP$^{b}$, Nonius, *l.c.*, Hm., Bt., Sb., Msn. (*solum* is also found in two other Laurentian Mss., cf. Ramorino).

6. **aveo** edd., *abeo* LH$^{1}$, *habeo* H$^{2}$AVvP$^{a}$P$^{b}$M rell.

8. **quis facile** codd., edd., *facile quis* HE, Sb.

9. **nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit**: om. L$^{1}$H$^{1}$P$^{a1}$A$^{1}$, bracketed by Ram.: L$^{2}$A$^{2}$vBERSIAdM have *pilam* for *Peliam* (V); H$^{2}$ has *philam* after *recoxerit*; ER show the same order as H$^{2}$, and so the inferior codd. Laur. mentioned above. — **quis** H$^{2}$ codd., Nonius, 165, 30 M, *qui* LH$^{1}$A VvP$^{a}$.

10. **repuerascam** H$^{1}$, Nonius, 165, 31 M, *repuerescam* L$^{1}$VvP$^{a}$M$^{2}$N, *rapuerescam* A$^{1}$, *repueriscam* H$^{2}$A$^{2}$M$^{1}$ rell.

12. **ad carceres**: om. H$^{1}$EQ (cf. Clark).

**84.** 1. **habet enim vita** LAVvISM, Ml., Sch., *enim habet vita* H$P^b$N BR, Hm., Bt., *enim vita habet* EQ, Sb.

2. **habeat** $H^2$, edd., *habet* L$H^1$Vv$AP^a$M rell.

4. **ei**: *ii* N (abbrev.), hence *indocti* $P^b$BSRI, om. HA$V^1P^a$EM; $V^2$ has *etiam* for *et ii*.

7. **e** $H^2$NRSIM, edd., *ex* V$P^b$B, Sb., om. L$H^1$vAE$P^a$. — **deversorium**: *devorsorium* L, Bt., Sb., Ml., *diversorium* $H^2$ rell., Hm.

8. **in** R (also some inferior Mss.), Nonius, 524, 31 M, edd., *ad* HVv A (suprascr. m. 1) $P^aP^b$BENSIM, Hm., om. L. Evidently *ad* came by correction from l. 11.

10. **turba et conluvione (coll.)** codd. (*conlivione* A), *turbae conluvione* (*coll.*) NP Vv, *turba conluvione* $P^b$.

11. **solum** codd., *solos* $A^2$; H$P^b$E have *solum ad eos*.

12. **quo nemo . . .** : H has *quo viro vir melior natus nemo est; quo viro vir nemo*, etc. E, *quo viro nemo vir*, etc. $L^2$.

14. **quod** $H^2$ codd., *quo* $H^1$E.

**85.** 3. **qui** codd., *quia* $A^2$.

8–13. **Quodsi . . . satietate**: bracketed by Anz, Sb.[12]

10. **omnium rerum** LHAVQBIRS, Sb., Ml., *rerum omnium* ENAd, Hm., Bt.

11. **aetatis est** codd., *est aetatis* $P^b$BSAd.

12. **defatigationem** $A^1P^bS^g$N$BE^2$, Ben., *defetigationem* V$A^2P^{a2}$RISM Ad, Hm., Bt., Sb., etc., *defectigationem* Lv, *defectionem* H$E^1P^{a1}A^2$ marg, Q, Ml., Sch.

# INDEX OF PERSONS

**Arganthonius** (§ 69), king of the Phoenician city of Tartessus, in Spain, near Cadiz, in the 6th century B.C. Herodotus (1, 163) and Pliny (*N. H.* 7, 156) gave him a reign of 80 years, and a life of 120.

**Aristides**, the Just (§ 21), ca. 540–467, Athenian statesman, distinguished in the Persian Wars, ostracized through the influence of Themistocles, but returned from banishment before the battle of Salamis.

**Aristo** (§ 3), Peripatetic philosopher, from the island of Keos; flourished ca. 225 B.C. His work on Old Age has perished along with the rest of his writings. Cf. App. on 3, 3.

**A. Atilius Calatinus** (§ 61), cos. 258 and 254, dictator 249, censor 247; one of the heroes of the First Punic War.

**M. Atilius Regulus** (§ 75), cos. 267 and 256. Carrying the war into Africa he was successful in his second consulship, but defeated the next year, and lived four years in captivity at Carthage, returning to Rome, it was said, with an embassy in 251. The story of his voluntary return to Carthage and martyr-death is now considered legendary.

**Atticus**, v. *Pomponius*.

**Brutus**, v. *Junius*.

**L. Caecilius Metellus** (§§ 30 and 61), cos. 251 and 247; victor over the Carthaginians at Panormus (Palermo), 251. When the temple of Vesta burned, in 241, he rescued the Palladium from the flames, but at the cost of his eyesight (*pro Scauro*, 48).

**Statius Caecilius** (§§ 24–25, 36), the comic poet. By birth an Insubrian Gaul from the plains of the Po, he came to Rome as a slave. As freedman he wrote about forty comedies, adapted from the Greek, and died 166, three years after his friend Ennius. Of his works fragments only remain.

**Caepio**, v. *Servilius*.

**Calatinus**, v. *Atilius*.

**Camillus**, v. *Furius*.

**Sp. Carvilius Maximus** (§ 11), colleague of Fabius (the Cunctator) in his second consulship, 228.

**Cato**, v. *Porcius*.

**Cento**, v. *Claudius*.

**Cethegus**, v. *Cornelius*.

**Cincinnatus**, v. *Quinctius*.

**Cineas** (§ 43), Thessalian orator, employed as diplomat by Pyrrhus, who sent him twice to Rome, where he failed to persuade the senate to make peace with his master.

**Appius Claudius Caecus** (§§ 16, 37), cos. 307 and 296; censor 312; builder of the Via Appia, from Rome to Capua (later continued to

Brundisium), and of the Aqua Appia, the first of the Roman aqueducts. Eminent in the law and as a speaker, he wrote the very first Latin prose, and was also reckoned as the earliest Roman poet. His versatility gave him the name of *Centemmanus* (= *Centimanus*; cf. Pompon., *Dig.* 1, 2, 2, 36), and his activity continued even in age and blindness. In many ways a forerunner of Cato himself, he differed from the latter in representing the old nobility, and the Roman, as against the municipal, spirit.

**Appius Claudius Crassinus Regillensis** (§ 41), cos. 349, but died early in the year.

**C. Claudius Cento** (§ 50), cos. 240, son of the censor.

**M. Claudius Marcellus** (§ 75), consul five times between 222 and 208. In his first consulship he had triumphed over the Gauls and taken the *spolia opima*. The first Roman general to encounter Hannibal with success, he besieged Syracuse for three years, and captured the city, 212, only to lose his life in a skirmish near Venusia, in his last consulship.

**Cleanthes** (§ 23), Stoic philosopher, flourished ca. 260, from Assos in Mysia, author of a celebrated hymn to Zeus (quoted by St. Paul at Athens), reached the age of 80.

**M. Cornelius Cethegus** (§§ 10, 50), cos. 204, one of the earliest of Roman orators (*Brutus*, 57–59), victor over Mago, Hannibal's brother, in the plains of the Po, 203 (Liv. 30, 18).

**Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus** (§§ 29, 75), cos. 222, fell in Spain, 212; the father of Nasica.

**P. Cornelius Scipio** (§§ 29, 75), brother of the above, cos. 218, defeated at the Ticinus in that year by Hannibal; shared the campaigns in Spain with his brother, until both lost their lives, 212.

**P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (maior)**, (§§ 19, 29, 35, 61, 82), son of the last, cos. 205 and 194; saved his father's life at the Ticinus; fought at Cannae; sent to Spain, 210, to Africa, 204; defeated Hannibal at Zama, 202; legatus to his brother, Scipio Asiaticus, in the war against Antiochus, 190. Accused, along with his brother, of bribery, or of misappropriation of the spoils, he retired in anger to his villa at Liternum near Naples, and died, probably 183, little more than fifty years old. In § 19 the date of his death is given as 185, but all the circumstances of his retirement and death are strangely obscure; cf. Intr., § 28 *fin.*

**P. Cornelius Scipio** (§ 35), son of the preceding, and, by adoption, father of the following. A man of ability, but ill-health and a short life prevented him from adding to the family laurels, or, to use the words of his epitaph (C.I.L. 1, 33), *Mors perfe[cit] tua ut essent omnia brevia.*

**P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (minor) Aemilianus Numantinus** (§§ 3–4, etc.), cos. 147 and 134, born ca. 185, the son of L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, but had been adopted into the family of the Scipios before the triumph of his father and the death of his younger brothers (§ 68). The destroyer of Carthage, 146, and of Numantia, 133; a man of the broadest culture, patron of literature, and centre of the circle which bears his name. His sudden death, 129, was not without suspicions of murder. He is the chief speaker in Cicero's *de Re Publica*.

**P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum** (§ 50), cos. 162 and 155, censor 159, grandson of Cn. Scipio Calvus, and son-in-law of Africanus maior. On his antagonism to Cato in regard to the proposed (third) war with Carthage, v. Intr., § 32.

**Ti. Coruncanius** (§§ 15, 27, 43), cos. 280, dictator 246, the first plebeian pontifex maximus.

**Crassus**, v. *Licinius*.

**Critobulus** (§ 59), a speaker in the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon.

**M'. Curius Dentatus** (§§ 15, 43, 55–56), cos. 290, 275, 274; censor 272. Victorious over the Samnites, and over Pyrrhus at Beneventum; a favorite example of old-time simplicity and frugality; usually named with Fabricius and Coruncanius.

**Cyrus maior** (§§ 30, 32, 79 ff.), founder of the Persian empire, died 529. He was idealized by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedīa*; cf. Intr., § 3.

**Cyrus minor** (§ 59), brother of Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), whom he endeavored to dethrone by the well-known expedition described in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. He fell at Cunaxa, 401.

**P. Decius Mus** (§ 75), cos. 340, in which year he deliberately sacrificed himself in battle with the Latins and Campanians near Mt. Vesuvius. It is possible that the story was influenced by the undoubted 'devotion' of his son, the following.

**P. Decius Mus** (§§ 43, 75), son of the preceding, cos. 312, 308, 297, 295; censor 304. He devoted himself to death at the battle of Sentinum, 295, contributing thus to that victory over Gauls, Samnites, and Etruscans. That his son also sacrificed himself at Asculum, 279, was stated (by Cicero, *T. D.* 1, 89), but lacks historical authority.

**Democritus** (§ 23), of Abdēra, in Thrace, born ca. 460, the founder of the atomic philosophy. His doctrines were largely appropriated by the Epicureans.

**Diogenes** (§ 23), the Babylonian (to distinguish him from the great Cynic), born at Seleucīa, near Babylon. He was the head of the Stoic school, and came to Rome on the famous embassy of 155 (see Intr., § 31).

**Galus**, v. *Sulpicius*.

**Glabrio**, v. *Acilius*.

**Gorgias** (§§ 13, 23), the rhetorician, of Leontini in Sicily (near Syracuse), born about 485.

**Hannibal** (§§ 10, 75), the most dreaded enemy of Rome; invaded Italy by way of the Alps, 218; defeated the Roman generals in the bloody battles of the Trebia, 218, Trasimene, 217, Cannae, 216; was unable to attempt the siege of Rome, but maintained himself in the south of Italy until 203; vanquished at last at Zama, 202, and driven out of Carthage some years later, he lived at the court of Antiochus, and lastly in Bithynia, where he poisoned himself to escape the hands of his Roman pursuers, ca. 183.

**Hesiod** (§§ 23, 54), the old poet of Ascra in Boeotia, author of the *Theogony*(?) and the *Works and Days*; flourished in the eighth century B.C.

**Homer** (§§ 23, 31, 54), the traditional author of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Homeric Hymns*.

**Isocrates** (§§ 13, 23), 436–338, the distinguished teacher of oratory, master of some of the most eminent Attic orators, *e.g.* Isaeus. After the hopes of Greek freedom had been extinguished at the battle of Chaeronea, he took his own life. Twenty-one orations are extant.

**L. Junius Brutus** (§ 75), the liberator from the tyranny of the kings; fell in battle with the Tarquins after their expulsion, ca. 510.

**C. Laelius** (§ 77), father of the following and friend of Africanus; cos. 190.

**C. Laelius Sapiens** (§§ 3–4, etc.), one of the speakers in the dialogue; cos. 140; friend of the Younger Scipio, with whom he served in Spain; a man of culture, and devoted to letters.

**Laertes** (§ 54), in Homer the father of Ulysses.

**Lepidus**, v. *Aemilius*.

**P. Licinius Crassus Dives** (§§ 27, 50, 61), cos. 205, pontifex maximus 212–183, and chiefly known for his knowledge of law. But he had held the censorship 210, before his consulship, and fought against Hannibal as consul and proconsul.

**Livius Andronicus** (§ 50), of Tarentum, ca. 284–204, the earliest Roman poet, the first to bring out a play at Rome. At first a slave at Rome, he taught and wrote, — tragedies, comedies, and a translation of the *Odyssey*, the last in the old Saturnian metre.

**C. Livius Salinator** (§ 7), cos. 188. As praetor in command of the fleet he had gained a victory over the fleet of Antiochus in the Aegean, 191.

**M. Livius Salinator** (§ 11), a slip of Cicero's memory for

**M. Livius Macatus**, defender of Tarentum 214–212, and then of the citadel 212–209, until the city was recovered by Fabius Maximus. On the error, cf. K. Allen in A.J.P. 19 (1898), 437.

**Lysander** (§§ 59, 63), Spartan general and admiral in the Peloponnesian war; defeated the Athenian fleet in the disastrous battle of Aegospotami, 405; captured Athens, 404; died, 395.

**Lysimachus** (§ 21), an Athenian, father of Aristides.

**T. Maccius Plautus** (§ 50), ca. 254–184, an Umbrian of Sarsina; the greatest of the Roman comic poets. He confined himself to the adaptation of Greek comedies, but with great freedom, and no attempt to restrain his own native humor. Of his plays we possess twenty, besides fragments.

**Sp. Maelius** (§ 56), a wealthy Roman knight, who in a time of distress (439) distributed great quantities of grain to the plebs at his own cost. Accused of using the popularity thus gained to foment a revolution, and make himself a king, he was ordered to appear before L. Quinctius Cincinnatus (appointed dictator for this crisis), and on refusing and appealing to the people to defend him, he was cut down by C. Servilius Ahala, the magister equitum.

**Marcellus**, v. *Claudius*.

**Q. Marcius Philippus** (§ 14), cos. 186 and 169; censor 164.

**Masinissa** (§ 34), king of Numidia. On the side of Carthage at first, in the Second Punic War, he fought against the Scipios in Spain, but was won over by Africanus, and remained for the rest of his long life the ally of Rome and friend of the family of the Scipios. He died 149, in the same year as Cato.

**Maximus**, v. *Fabius*.

**Metellus**, v. *Caecilius*.

**Milo(n)** (§§ 27, 33), a celebrated Greek athlete of Croton, in South Italy, and six times victor at Olympia; famed for his voracious appetite not less than for his athletic prowess.

**Cn. Naevius** (§§ 20, 50), the poet, born ca. 269 or 264, died ca. 199. A Campanian by birth, he fought in the First Punic War, and later brought out plays, both tragedies and comedies; he made the first attempt at a national Roman tragedy (not borrowed from the Greek), and also wrote in the old Saturnian metre an epic on the First Punic War. His independence towards the nobles, especially the Metelli, brought upon him first imprisonment and then exile. He died at Utica. Fragments only of his poems remain.

**Nearchus** (§ 41) Pythagorean philosopher of Tarentum, where he entertained Cato, after the recapture of the city.

**Nestor** (§ 31), of Pylos, the most venerable of the Greek chiefs before Troy. He had also taken part in the Caledonian hunt and in the expedition of the Argo.

**Paulus**, v. *Aemilius*.

**Pelias** (§ 83), king of Iolcus; usurped the power belonging to his brother Aeson. Jason, son of Aeson, accomplished his revenge through Medea, who, after renewing the youth of Aeson by her arts, persuaded the daughters of Pelias to cut their father in pieces and boil the parts in a caldron in the hope that he also would be made young again.

**Philippus**, v. *Marcius*.

**Pisistratus** (§ 72), the enlightened tyrant of Athens, died 527.

**Plato** (§§ 13, 23, 41, 44, 78), 427–347, the philosopher, and founder of the Academy. He travelled extensively, and visited Sicily and Greek Italy no less than three times. A fourth journey, 349, which Cicero (§ 41) seems to have regarded as a fact, is very doubtful.

**Plautus**, v. *Maccius*.

**T. Pomponius Atticus** (§ 1), 109-32, the most intimate of Cicero's friends, his counsellor in every difficulty. To him this dialogue is dedicated, as also the Laelius. Of Cicero's letters to Atticus nearly four hundred are extant. After many years of residence in Athens, Atticus returned to Rome, ca. 65, and lived on terms of the greatest intimacy with the leading men of all parties, but held aloof from every public office or responsibility. A banker and publisher, he also wrote an outline of Roman history, genealogical tables, etc.

**C. Pontius** (§ 41), a Samnite, father of the following.

**C. Pontius Telesinus** (§ 41), the Samnite general by whom the Romans were defeated and made to pass under the yoke at the Caudine Forks, 321.

**T. Pontius** (§ 33), an unknown centurion.

**M. Porcius Cato Censorius** (§ 3 and throughout); v. Intr., §§ 6–44.

**M. Porcius Cato Licinianus** (§§ 15, 68, 84), son of the Censor; v. Intr., §§ 12, 32.

**Sp. Postumius Albinus** (§ 41), cos. 334 and 321, defeated in the latter year at the Caudine Forks; censor 332.

**Sp. Postumius Albinus** (§ 7), cos. 186, when he discovered and suppressed the Bacchanalian orgies.

**Pyrrhus** (§§ 16, 43, 55), king of Epirus. At the call of Tarentum he crossed over to Italy to lend his aid against the Romans, whom he defeated at Heraclea, 280, and Asculum, 279. Crossing over to Sicily he failed in his efforts to dispossess the Carthaginians completely. In

many tragedies seven only have survived. The story of § 22 is now generally discredited.

**Statius**, v. *Caecilius*.

**Stesichorus** (§ 23), a Greek lyric poet of Himera, in Sicily, ca. 640–555. Fragments only remain.

**C. Sulpicius Gal(l)us** (§ 49), cos. 166, orator and man of letters, known especially for his studies in astronomy. While military tribune he had predicted the eclipse of the moon which occurred on the eve of the battle of Pydna, 168.

**P. Terentius Afer** (§ 65), the comic poet. Born at Carthage, of African blood apparently, he came to Rome as a slave, but gaining freedom and the name of his patron, he became intimate with Scipio the Younger and the whole circle of his literary friends. He wrote only the six comedies which survive, closely adapted from the Greek. He died 159, still young, on his return from Greece.

**C. Terentius Varro** (§ 75), cos. 216, the demagogue who had gained influence by attacking Fabius Cunctator. By his recklessness battle was offered Hannibal at Cannae. Varro was among the few officers who escaped.

**Themistocles** (§§ 8, 21), Athenian commander and statesman, rival of Aristides, victor over the Persians at the naval battle of Salamis, 480. Exiled 471, he lived in Persia and Asia Minor, and died ca. 460.

**Tithonus** (§ 3), brother of Priam, husband of the goddess Eos, or Aurora, who gained from Zeus the boon of immortality for her husband, but forgot to ask that he might always retain his youth. His flesh shrivelled with age, and he was finally turned into a *cicada*.

**Tuditanus**, v. *Sempronius*.

**Turpio**, v. *Ambivius*.

**L. Valerius Flaccus** (§ 42), friend and colleague of Cato both in the consulship and censorship; v. Intr., §§ 24, 26–31.

**M. Valerius Corv(in)us** (§ 60), cos. *six* times between 348 and 299; had distinguished himself in 349, as tribune of the soldiers, in single combat with a Gallic chief. He triumphed four times.

**T. Veturius Calvinus** (§ 41); as cos. 321 he shared with his colleague, Sp. Postumius Albinus, the defeat at the Caudine Forks.

**Xenocrates** (§ 23), of Chalcedon, 396–314, pupil of Plato, and head of the Academy for 25 years (339–314). Nothing remains of his works beyond unimportant fragments.

**Xenophon** (§§ 30, 46, 59, 79), ca. 434–ca. 355, the Athenian historian, pupil of Socrates; won military renown in the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, and served for years in the Spartan army; banished from

# INDEX TO THE NOTES[1]



[1] The references are to sections and lines. Geographical names are included, whether mentioned in the commentary or not.